The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick with Other Documents Relating to That Saint, Part I

Edited with translations and indexes by Whitley Stokes

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THE

TRIPARTITE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK

WITH

OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THAT SAINT.

PART I

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND INDEXES BY WHITLEY STOKES

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THE

TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK.

atoe. Gioit 7 aig hinisno inis cela
giu 7 iarn na gilbail do gabaib inis
ebqu arcomnactalac. Et anno po
Domnach mor mait̃ aeta bai pa
dtinach. Boch occhuro ratha ba
cann isr domnach ss. nis du inadu
athe do chuairt opa diairsede.
nocu durmad in airu noraidi pai
bid tri bruatech acumtach main
onrirroigh and cach lai. Noraide
pait inat arcirebchaen dun co
arad ingoch arcaum isi. ise
gatchuirson in cinneda. is uide
no ad cumtach dun hisplait fe
tolmid 7 sabaim in tamsi. Et to
Rimori e forairgert pa cella
gba illaigniu. facaib bir
ein la oub cairet 7 la laigni
huli 7 i airpanoi no ondong tair
facc pin in plebu fogsoq icoc.
ib iairpanoi e belach gabrain
liuairnoirraig 7 f ochi cella 7 agba
and 7 atbt no bithir ordonion
lebe 7 chuc duib 7 ni biad paqual
mac caroid pin cein no bether dorg
rapa. Cilebrair pa doib rirnidi
r 7 facaib mairg riurcm occt 7 f
lim dia muic. du lit amqat aroc
indiu 7 muirg roigne. Et domnacan
Druimnechino li maige ce munaid
pait pa oc dul cuimbuirn. dogni
ch do ruch i ordoma munaid focc
om. dognich du doneoig nuna du
noraidi pa nacmbiad arcoi do
gned di ruch inicaullis co brat.
q implet. cid delce in dumcai
de. atau uri dirt pa firpair.

Luid pa i airpanoi in cech mai
do chaisiul narig. Is and arar
narrachc oing 7 in nac fis inn
matain bat i naprnacta huig
i nalt gib 7 rair name pa sam.
lin tocb i oune. no ph railte
pu 7 n gb lis iarn dun comai
gin hicaile pa indiu 7 nobat
ir iarpaoin incu inat precc 7
pii in mumi olchinai 7 facaib
bispain 7 robi ucaint sin 7 no
tinach i dun. i. cairel 7 airbere
nad mbiad fotirguine and co
brach 7 no b ai .iiii. mbl a la mu
am. is f conite ino iot brio
ai orp uid f clech richtanad to
cair conidech impulaid i inia.
Mbai pa oc bath ouirg pa.
luid i inneid na bachlai chena
t rid oengra. Arbt pa cid
no bai na deprbairte f min. is
an dallin robai coin na cce
me olre. Nocbia aloog olpa
iiii. dongas 7 dalta ini mac fin
mitha do cainibadis igonai
ondiu co brach. i. mi ri cairil ce
noniorcadnis cobarba pa 7 ca
cairea go rain. pa dia. Pein
nac fich raim romaid. huad
ib nis luadib iurrus. ouig a
richaib femin 7 a b ch aill 7
ceaui. nis nofall nairic fobu
chaill incaisiul cuine cinn tec
an doil alltu 7 otigrpa. is do
choid pa i tr imgairgi inbri
egoi 7 f ochaig cella 7 agba
and. Luaman bai oc inlat a
laim fouch and co torchair
facail arach ii ifoat.

THE

TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK,

WITH

OTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THAT SAINT.

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND INDEXES

BY

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PART I.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

This book contains the three Irish homilies on Patrick son of Calpurn, which are commonly called the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, together with such other ancient documents as seemed likely to elucidate his biography. The text of the Tripartite Life is now for the first time printed, though two versions of it have been published, namely a Latin one by the learned Franciscan friar, John Colgan, in his *Triadis Thaumaturgae . . . Acta*, Lovanii, 1647, and an English one by Mr. Hennessy, in Miss Cusack's *Life of Saint Patrick*, London, 1870, pp. 371–502. But the former version is a paraphrase for edification rather than a translation for scholars, and the latter is incomplete, and not always quite accurate.

In this Introduction I propose, first, to describe the manuscripts from which the text of the Tripartite Life has been taken; secondly, to endeavour to fix approximately the date at which it was composed; thirdly, to notice the other documents printed in this book; fourthly, to set forth, with their aid, the personal history of our Saint; and, fifthly, to mention the points in which the contents of this volume throw light on the social condition of the early Irish. Their name-system, topography, language and latinity are illustrated respectively by the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth of the indexes.

I.—Description of the Manuscripts.

In the seventeenth century there seem to have been at least four manuscripts of the Tripartite Life. Of these, three, which Colgan calls 'exceeding old' ('pervetusta'),[1] were used by him in making the Latin paraphrase printed, as the Septima Vita, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*. The first and chief was a vellum belonging to the O'Clerys, the famous antiquaries of Ulster; the second belonged to the 'Deorani' in Leinster; of the third he had no information. He worked from copies of these codices, and does not appear to have had the originals in his hands.[2] Of Colgan's three MSS. none are known to exist. The copy in Egerton 93 is not one of them, for it was written in 1477, and was therefore, in 1647, only 170 years old—certainly not 'pervetusta.' Nor is the copy in Rawlinson B. 512 one of them, for in wording, arrangement, and substance it differs from Colgan's paraphrase in the following particulars:—

Rawl. B. 512.	Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*.
fol. 5 a. 1: quod non tam dicendus est.	page 117 a.: quod *non tam dicendus sit.*
uniuersa Christi ecclesia[e]que misteria.	*Ecclesiæ, vniuersaque Christi mysteria.*

[1] 'Hanc vitam damus ex tribus peruetustis MSS. Hibernicis inter se collatis, desumptam,' *Trias Thaum.*, 168, col. 1.

[2] 'Quartò obseruandum quod tria manuscripta exemplaria iam memorata, quorum primum et praecipuum erat descriptum ex vetustis membranis Cleriorum Antiquariorum in Ultonia, secundum ex Deoraniorum in Lagenia, tertium ex quibus nescio codicibus transumptum, in nonnullis ab inuicem discrepabant; uno fusius quae in aliis pressius, et uno latinè referente quae in aliis Hibernicè referebantur. Nos autem fidem res fusius et latinè referentis sequuti sumus,' *ibid.*, 169, col. 2.

fol.		page	
5 a. 2:	Sedentibus, id est, stabiles quia erant [stabiles] et immobiles.	117 a.:	*Sedentibus: quia erant stabiles, immobiles.*
5 b. 1:	Et in umbra mortis	117 b.:	*Et in vmbra*
	Ipse de se dixit		*Ipse enim de se dixit.*
	Apostoli vero lux cum initio		*Apostoli lux cum initio*
	Nox enim erat in mundo		*Non enim erat lux in mundo*
	Apostolos et sanctos successores eorum.		*Apostolos sanctos, et successores eorum.*

Again, there is nothing in Rawl. B. 512 corresponding with the following three chapters printed by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, 117 a., b., 118 b., 128 b.:—

'II. Quando enim mater sanctum puerum in utero gestabat, filius Regis Britonum cum uxore uenit ad ejus domum quem et ipsa, ut decuit, perhumaniter excepit. Hospes autem eius formae captus praestantia, visus est in aliquibus exterioribus signis prodidisse, quem in pectore malè concipiebat, ignem. Hoc autem cùm ejus propria uxor adverteret, zelotypiae vitio excaecata, curavit venenum matri S. Patricii in haustu propinari. *Conchessa* verò nihil mali suspicata, oblatum sumpsit ha[u]stum: sed virtute sanctissimi foetus factum est, ut venenum matri nihil nocuerit, sed in duram et lapideam massam conversum sit; quae in pueri, dum in lucem ederetur, palmâ inter tenellos digitos reperta est. Et cum zelotypae facinus mulieris, et quae circa sanctum puerum, ejusque matrem gesta sunt, posteà divulgarentur; omnes coeperunt divinam bonitatem, innocentiae protectricem, magnificare; et pueri tanto signo praemonstratam, futuram praedicare, et praedicere sanctitatem. Hoc fuit primum, sed non praecipuum, prodigiorum hujus sancti viri.'[1]

Venenum matri propinatum in lapidem conversum.

[1] See this story in Irish, from Egerton, 93, infra, p. xlvi.

'X. Accidit alio die ut unicus filiolus cujusdam foeminae, quae materterae sancti pueri in vaccis emulgendis assistere solebat, immaturâ morte abreptus, decesserit. Mater autem mortui pueruli[1] ingemitus et lachrymas effusa, suum infortunium ejulabunda amicae suae exponit: quæ jussit ut filiolum secum deferens, cum in loco, in quo vaccis mulgendis operam dabant, deponat, tanquam dormientem, Quod cùm factum esset, porrigit vasculum lacte plenum sancto puero Patricio, mandans, ut et ipse, et alius ipse puer, qui in prato dormiebat, inde se reficiant. Annuit puer sanctus, et socium, quasi de requiescentis corporis sopore excitans, à mortis somno excitatum, vitae restituit cum adstantium omnium stupore et laetitiâ.'[2]

Puerum mortuum vitæ restituit.

'LXVIII. Post tot prodigia veram fidem confirmantia, et tam publicam Christianae fidei professionem, perversus Rex ad vomitum denuò et fel amaritudinis rediens, nondum desiit mirificam servi Dei Patricii probare, nisi et in dubium reuocare virtutem. Jussit enim ut post transacta omnia jam memorata, unus è servis nomine *Erra maelus*, ad publicam urbis plateam se conferat, faciem liniat sanguine, super plateam se prosternat, mortemque simulet; et casu quo S. Patricius se rogante superveniat, eum excitaturus; nullatenus indicet se vivum vel à mortuis resurrexisse. Erra maelus, revera erro malus, assentit Regis iniquae inuentioni, sed ad suam perniciem. Re, ut excogitata, in effectum deducta, à Rege malignè rogatus supervenit Patricius; et dum jacentem aspiceret, reique compositam fraudem, fictionem et indignitatem, à Domino revelante in spiritu admonitus edisceret, dixit: O Erro maele, sive vere, sive ficte laesus sis, non recipies medicinam: sive verè, sive fictè laesus sis, indè non resurges. Quod veridicum oraculum certissimus rei probavit eventus: nam Erra maelus, quam satis perversè simulavit se, tam satis adversè obiisse inventus est mortem.'[3]

Mortem fictè simulans verè mortuus.

---

[1] puerili, Colg.

[2] See this story given in Irish, from the Lebar Brecc, infra, p. 436.

[3] This story, too, will be found in Irish, infra, p. 458, where for *Erra* the Lebar Brecc has *Crund*.

So in the second part, Colgan (p. 130 b.) opens his ninth chapter with a sentence which is obviously needed, but is not found in Rawl. B. 512, fo. 9 a. 2: 'Profectus est inde Patricius ad regionem de Delbhna Assuill: ibique aliquot fundavit Ecclesias, quibus ex suis discipulis diversas praefecit mystas doctrina et virtutibus illustres, quorum zelum virtutesque vir Dei probavit, non solum dum discipuli ejus essent in Hibernia, sed et ante à tempore multo, dum Romam ut veram doctrinam pietatemque è fonte epotarent, piam susceperunt pergrinationem.'

Again, at the end of Colgan's chap. xxii. (*Trias Thaum*, p. 132[a]), there is another sentence needed for the sense, but dropt out of Rawl. B. 512, fo. 10 a. 1: 'Sed cum appelleret, casulam in Britannia relictam, ante se jacentem reperit in Hibernia.'

On the other hand, there is nothing in Colgan's version corresponding, in the first part, with the sentence in Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6 a. 1, (infra, p. 10, lines 8, 9); or with the hymn *Fáed fíada* in fo. 7 a. 1 (infra, p. 48); nor, in the second part, is there anything corresponding to the story of Munis, Loch Croni, and the relics left by S. Patrick in Forgnaide, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20 b. 1 (infra, pp. 84, 86); to the verses in fol. 13 a. 1 (infra, p. 106); to the conversation between the angel and Patrick, 13 b. 1 (infra, pp. 112, 114); to the account, 14 a. 2 (infra, p. 120), of the still surviving members of Patrick's household; to the question (infra, p. 134) about the numbers baptized in the well Oenadarc; to the verses in p. 140; to the quatrain ascribed to S. Brigit, p. 150; and, lastly, to the story about Commán mac Algasaich, p. 156. The three wizards of Gregraige mentioned in p. 138 are only two in Colgan's version, p. 142.

For these reasons it seems clear that the Rawlinson MS. was not one of the three codices used by Colgan.

The MS. from which the bulk of the present work has been taken is described in the printed catalogue of the Rawlinson collection, *Catalogi codicum manuscrip-*

torum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Primus, Oxonii: 1862, col. 728–732. But as this description is neither complete[1] nor accurate,[2] it may be well to give here a list of the contents of the codex.

The MS. Rawlinson B. 512 is a vellum, in quarto, now consisting of 154 folios, in double columns, written by various hands, in the 14th and 15th centuries. Its contents, almost wholly Irish, are as follows:—

1. Conclusion of a story about Aedán and his brother Brandub, king of Leinster. Begins: mathair-si ar Oedan. regmai do acallaim na cailligi aili.[3] Ends: m*ac* *ocus* ingen cechtarnai.[4] Finet. Aedán's daughterless mother recognises him by a grain of gold which she had placed under his left shoulderblade when she exchanged him for a daughter of a sonless queen.

2. Kailleoracht inso sis. A poem in nine stanzas, obscure to me. Begins (fo. 1 a. 1, line 25): Ton feid, a Cr*ist*, *co*nic muir.[5] Ends (fo. 1 a. 2, line 11): toirthi hili ton fethi.

3. A story about Queen Medb's three husbands. Title: Ferchuitred Medba indso (Medb's husband-allowance this). Begins (fo. 1 a. 2, line 12): Rí rogab*astar* rígi f*or* Er*inn* fecht naill .i. Eoch*u* Fedhl*ech*.[6] Ends (fo. 2 a. 2): mac rig Alpan dotuitt la Maine Andaoi m*ac* Ail*e*lla *ocus* Medbai. FINID dó sin.[7] This story is

[1] It omits numbers 9, 11, 17, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 70, 76, 86, 92, 94, 95, 100, and 101 in the list now printed.

[2] It describes a fragment of the Félire of Oengus as the whole: it gives, as a separate piece (21), the beginning of the Cáin Adamnáin; and it is deformed by misprints such as 'Choya' for Choga, 'Seáil' for Scáil, 'Dubd' for Dubh, 'Galide' for Gulide, 'Danaim' for Danann; and by mistranslations such as *erchoitmed* 'complaint'; *forbais* 'invasion'; *esnad* 'dearth.'

[3] 'we will go to converse with the other hag.'

[4] 'a son and daughter of each of them.'

[5] 'Lead us, O Christ, that rulest the sea.'

[6] '(There was) a king who took kingship over Ireland at another time, even Eochu Fedlech.'

[7] '(It was) the son of the king of Scotland who fell by Maine Andaoi son of Ailill and Medb. That was the *finit* to him.'

mentioned by Irard Mac Coisi, Rawl. B. 512, fo. 109, a. 2. The scribe's name follows: Meisi Mailech*lainn* rog*r*aithph (*sic*) sin. '(It was) I, Maelšechlainn, who wrote that.'

fo. 2 b. is blank.

4. Poem, in 37 stanzas, on the Kings of Ireland from Loegaire to Brian Boroime. Begins (fo. 3 c. 4): Ata sund fo*r*ba fessa.[1] Ends (fo. 3 b. 2): a g*r*ád imman-main attais.

5. An imperfect copy of Gilla Coemáin's chronological poem. Begins (fo. 3 b. 2, line 5): A andáladh anall uile. Ends: do chobair chl*ann* m*ac* Miledh.

Printed from the Book of Leinster, infra, pp. 530–540.

6. A much faded poem entitled Tadg og oDa . . . cecinit. Begins (fo. 4 b.): [Ga]ch gan anacal eg . . con.

7. The Tripartite Life of S. Patrick. Entitled: Beatha Pad*r*aic annso. Begins (fo. 5 a. 1): Populus qui sedebat. Ends (fo. 30 a.): Alme tro*cairi ocus* rl. Printed infra, pp. 1–267. The following marginalia occur: fol. 21 a. at foot: Patt*r*uig m*ac* Arpluin anB*r*eathn*ach* do tháob a athair *ocus* Frangach do taobh a mathair os bh*a* siur don naom Martan hí. ('Patrick son of Arplun [=Calpurn] the Briton, on his father's side, and a Frank on his mother's side, and she was a sister of the holy Martin.'): fol. 22 a., at foot, the fragment of a topographical poem:

O Loch Leighinn go hEirne
tarrsna na Breifne burba,
is o Ceann*us* chaoimhfinne
fad go gaoith Bhinne Ghulbun.[2]

---

[1] 'Here is a completion of knowledge.'

[2] 'From Loch-Leighinn to Erne, across the fierce Breifne, and from Ceannas of loveable whiteness far to the stream of Benn Gulbáin.'

Unimportant scribblings in English occur in fols. 11 a., 12 b., 18 a. 1, 23 b., 24 a. 1, and 26 a.

8. A few topographical verses, in a modern hand, beginning: Crioch Midhi inn[e]osad duibh *ocus* crioch Breadh mborr*fadach*[1] (fol. 30 a. 1, l. 28).

9. Prose notes beginning: ISsí toranna*cht ocus cri*ochara*cht*[2] na Midi. (This is the measurement and mering of Meath), fol. 30 a. 2.

At the foot of this page are two Latin notes about 'Risterdus Nugent' (ob. 1591) and Katherine Nugent (ob. 1604). On fol. 30 b. are some much faded notes in English.

10. A life of S. Brigit, of which the commencement is lost. Begins (fol. 31 a. 1): miracula vulgata sunt. Laæ nand i suidiu luid in Broicsech do bleogan.[3] Ends (35 b. 1, l. 31) with the following quatrain:—

Dogena damsa moRí
ní firfe flech*od* choidchí:
fobithin Brigti indiu
teti sund dond ingairiu . ,[4]

Pluuiam et uentum sedauit . . , Finit.

At the top of fol. 33 a. is the following note by the scribe of the Tripartite Life: A mBaili na Cuilendt*r*ach dam ag sc*r*ib*enn* nabeth*ad*sa næmBri*gte*; *ocus* ara fæs*am* dom anmain *ocus* dom chvrp, *ocus* co romsoera ar dvailchib *ocus* duineba. ('In Baile na Cuilenntrach am I a-writing this Life of Saint Brigit; and under her safe-

[1] 'Meath's boundary I will declare to you, and the boundary of the haughty Bregians.'

[2] Over *ar* is written *do*.

[3] 'One day therein Broicsech [Brigit's mother] went to milk.'

[4] 'My King will act for me: the shower will not pour till night: because of Brigit to-day who cometh here to the herding.'

guard be my soul and my body, and may she save me from vices and mortality!')

11. Slicht sain in so budesta (a different extract this henceforward). Account of six of Brigit's miracles. Begins (fol. 35 b. 1, l. 35): Delg dorat ri Laigen angill do filith.[1] Ends (fol. 36 a. 2, line 21): Ai*li*ll *mac* Dunlaing iCill Dara oc denam na fe*r*tasa. t*r*icha laithi dóib dia caithim it*ir* mna *ocus* firu.[2] FINIT.

12. Two stanzas, in a later hand, beginning fol. 36 a., line 22: Tlachtga *ingen* Mhodh[a] Ruith ramhaigh (Tlachtga daughter of Mugh-Ruith of the paddle).

13. A poem in 24 stanzas. Begins (fol. 36 b. 1): Domun duthain a loinde.[3] Ends (36 b. 2, l. 26): tormalt in dom*un*.[4] This is followed by a prose note in eleven lines. Begins (fol. 36 b. 2, line 27): Agsin d*uit* am*ic* . . . oir gallda (that's for thee, O son, . . .). Ends: in cvig[ed] la do mí aprilis odie (the fifth day of the month of April to-day).

13. INcipiunt uerba Coeman filii Beognæ Airidi .i. aibgit*ir* in crabaid (the Alphabet of Piety). Begins (fol. 37 a. 1): Ires co ngnímh. Accobar co feidhle. Fethamle co leire. Castót co numla. Aine co ninm*us*. Bochta *co n*eslabrai. Tua co comlabrai.[5] Ends (39 a. 1,

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[1] '(There was) a brooch which the King of Leinster gave in pledge to a poet.'

[2] 'Ailill son of Dunlang at Kildare (while she was) working these miracles. Thirty days to them, both men and women, to consume them.'

[3] 'the world, transitory is its bitterness.'

[4] 'he consumed the world.'

[5] 'Faith with work. Desire with permanence. Quietude with industry. Chastity with humility. Fasting with riches. Poverty with liberality. Silence with conversation,' etc. *Cóemán* is anglicised Kevin.

l. 12): IS ferr fochellamar inna coic dála arradfem .i. Dal fri cneit. Dál fri bás. Dal *fri* muinntir nDé. Dal fri demnæ. Dál fri hessérge illaithe bratha. FINID.[1]

14. Title: Teist Chocmain Cluana *maic* Treoin *for* scoil oc Sinchill Chille Ached inso ('this is Cocman of Cluain macc Treoin's testimony as to the young school of Sinchell of Cell Ached'). Begins (fol. 39 a., line 13): IS siat so cinte *ocus* gnathaighthe bui oc scoil óic Sinchill. Crabath cen scís. Umla cen fodord.[2] Ends (39 a. 2, l. 10): Tria cræs rommill Iesu a primgein*decht ocus* rorec ria brathair Iacob ar craibechan. Finet.[3]

15. Treatise on the eight deadly sins and their opposites. Begins (fol. 39 a. 1, line 11): Conæmdetar sruithe *Erenn* a riaglaib na screptræ pennatoir dilgind frepthæ cech pecthæ o biuc commór air rosuigidthe na hocht n-airig sualach *con*a fodlaib fri híce *ocus* slanugud na nocht n airech ndualchæ *con*eoch gainedar uaidib.[4] Ends (fol. 40 b. 2, line 10): Cobsaithe aicnith. M*en*mæ isel. Imchaisiu Dé.[5]

---

[1] 'It is best that we . . . the five meetings we shall mention, to wit, a meeting with sighing; a meeting with death; a meeting with God's household; a meeting with devils; a meeting with resurrection on Doomsday. It endeth.'

[2] 'These are the decisions and usages that were at Sinchell's young school. Devotion without weariness. *Humility* without murmuring,' &c. Another copy is in the Book of Leinster, p. 371, col. 3.

[3] 'Through gluttony Esau destroyed his birthright and sold it to his brother Jacob for a *craibechan*,' which word is glossed in H. 2, 16, col. 98, by *cara* [leg. caro] *bechan* .i. *feoil min no bec*, (a little or small piece of flesh).

[4] 'Ireland's elders collected, out of the rules of the Scripture, an extirpating penitential for remedying every sin, from small to great. For the eight chief virtues, with their sub-divisions, were set down to cure and salve the eight chief vices, with all that is born of them.'

[5] 'Firmness of nature. A lowly mind. Contemplation of God.'

16. Title: Incipit regula Colaim cilde (fol. 40 b. 2, line 11). Begins: Bith inn-uathad illuce folcith hifail primcathrach minap inill lat cab*us* beth i coitchend*us* na sochaide.[1] Ends (41 a. 2, line 2): Do mod ernaighte co taothsad do déra. *No* do modh di obair tórbaigh *no* do slec*ht*anaib coti th'allas comenic m*en*bat solma do déra. FINID.[2]

Dean Reeves has published this Rule, from a MS. in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, in his *Primate Colton's Visitation*, pp. 109–112.

17. A paragraph in three lines (fol. 41 a. 2, line 3): Cosc mo Colmaócc m*aic* uBéonna dond óclaicg. Cid as imgabtha do duine. Ni *anse.* sguirim fodesta ar rosg*ri*b*us* ch*e*na *é.*[3]

18. Legend of Gregory the Great (fol. 41 a. 2, line 6) Begins: IMroráid G*rigoi*r Rómæ, fer ind raith, do peedaib inclithib nan-dóine na tabrad i cobais.[4] Ends (f. 41 a. 2, line 34): Ni fil do peedaib dogne nech ina colainn na hicat na harra sa acht eendach an Spiruta naeib.[5] A scribe's note follows: Easparta domn*aig* ar mbreith fo*rn*, *ocus* ar fæsam D*e*i dam. ('Sunday vespers . . . . on us, and on God's protection am I.')

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[1] 'To be in solitude in a place apart, nigh unto a chief city, unless it be safe with thy conscience to be in communion with the multitude.'

[2] 'Thy measure of prayer, till thy tears shall fall. Or thy measure of profitable labour or of genuflexions until thy sweat come often, unless thy tears be rapid.' It endeth.

[3] 'Mocholmóc maccu-Beóna's correction to the youth. "What should be shunned by a human being?" Not hard (to say). (I unyoke henceforward, for I have written it' (something seems omitted).

[4] 'Gregory of Rome, the man of the grace, meditated on the secret sins of men which they do not put forth in confession.'

[5] 'Of the sins that one doth in his flesh there is none that these redemptions (*arrea*) do not heal, except the blasphemy of the Holy Ghost.'

19. Invocation of Christ, entreaties for the intercession of Mary, John the Child, John Baptist, &c. (fol. 41 b. 1). Begins: A slainicidh in ciniuda dáona, A fírliaig cecha tédma.[1] Ends (42 a. 1, line 20): coro airillnigem coroin na glóire suthaine in oenthaid (*sic*) muntire nime hi frecnarc*us* na Trínoite an secula secolorum.[2] Amen.

20. Title: Mugrón comarba Colvim cille ('Mugrón a successor of Colomb-cille') haec uerba composuit de Trinitate. Begins (fol. 42 a. 1, line 21): Airchis dín a Dé athair uili cumachtaig![3] Ends (42 b. 1, line 11): A spirut on ordnigther cech nuasal![4]

This Mugrón died A.D. 980. See Reeves, *Columba*, p. 395.

21. Title: Na arrada sosís colleic.[5] Begins (fol. 42 b. 1, line 12): Arra tesairgne anma a ifurnd.[6] Ends (44 a. 1, line 2): et pater semel i sesam et*ir* g*ach* da salm corroise anarra nuile.[7]

23. Legend of Laisren (fol. 44 a. 1, line 3). Begins: Fechtas luid Laisren f*or* slat*rad* o muintir Cluana, do glanad Cluana Cain cell file a crich *Con*nacht.[8] Ends (44 b. 2, line 16): *Ocus* ethech *ocus* ecnach *ocus* rad uabair *ocus* . . .[9]

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1 'O Healer of the human race! O true Leech of every disease!'

2 'that we may deserve the crown of eternal glory, in the unity of heaven's household, in the presence of the Trinity *in saecula saeculorum*.'

3 'Spare us, O God, Almighty Father!'

4 'O Spirit, by whom every noble one is ordained!'

5 'The remissions (*arrea*) here below now.'

6 'A remission for saving a soul out of hell.'

7 'and a paternoster once while standing up, between every two psalms until the whole remission is ended.'

8 'Once Laisren went a . . . . from the community of Cluain to purify Cluain Cáin, a church which is in the province of Connaught.'

9 'and perjury, and blasphemy, and proud speech, and . .'

24. Note on the churches of Munster (fol. 44 b. 2, line 17). Begins: Cuic primfethail cecha ec(ol)sa robordaiged la rig Muman .i. Finnguine *ocus* la Cathal co maithib Muman umpa .i. bachall *ocus* menistir *ocus* cros *ocus* cloc *ocus* catur (.i. soiscela).[1] Ends (44 b. 2, last line): Da mile bite annside fobith rotesairg ernaigthi Petair *ocus* Poil. FINID. Amen.[2]

25. A tract on the Psalter (fol. 45 a. 1). Begins: IS he titul fil in-dreich ind lipuirsi taitnea do menmannaib inna legnidhi. IS hé a ainm isind ebro hesp*er*talim .i. uolumen ymnorum, arinní is psalmus is lus uel imnus et*er*certar. C*eist*, cia hainm in lib*uir*si a ebra, a gréic, allatin? Ni*anse*: nabla [is]in ebra, psalterium isin gréic, laudatorium uel organum isin laitin.[3] Ends (fol. 47 b. 2, line 21): Habeo di*diu* uad imtíag.[4]

fol. 45 a. 1, line 22. Half obliterated Irish note, written in October, 1731.

26. The law of Adamnán (fol. 48 a. 1–f. 51 b. 1). Begins: Coic amsira ria ngein Cr*ist* .i. o Adam co dil*inn*, o dilinn co Abraam, o Abraam co D*abi*d, o Dabid co broit imBaibiloin. O br*oi*t Babilone co gein *Crist*. Mnau rouhatar in-doeriu *ocus* in-dochraiti fr*i*sin reisin co tanec Adamnan m*a*c Ronain, meic Tinne

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[1] 'Five chief *fethals* of every church were ordered by the King of Munster, even Finnguine and by Cathal with Munster's worthies around them, to wit, a crozier and a credence-table and a cross and a bell and a book of the gospels.'

[2] 'two thousands who are therein, because Peter and Paul's prayer saved them. Finit. Amen.'

[3] 'This is the title there is in the face of this book which shineth to the minds of the readers. This is its name in the Hebrew: *Hespertalim* [leg. *sepher tephillim*], that is "volumen hymnorum," because *psalmus* is, being interpreted, *laus* vel *hymnus*. Question, what is this book's name, its Hebrew, its Greek, its Latin? Not hard (to say). *Nebel* in the Hebrew, [*νάβλα, νάβλον,* LXX.], ψαλτήριον in the Greek, *laudatorium* or *organum* in the Latin.'

[4] '*Abeo*, then, I go from it.'

meic Ædhv meic Coluim meic Lugdach meic Shetnu meic *Con*uild meic Neill. Cumalach ba hainm do mnaiph co taineg Adamnan dia soerad; *ocus* ba sí so in cumalach in ben dia claite derc hi cinn na cobla [leg. comlad] coticeth dar a feili cend indinb*ir* [leg. inbir ?] furri coroisc*eth* bruith in lochta. IAr tiachtain di asin pull talman sin cainnil cet*hri* ferglac do tummud di a mul imme no ge*reth* in cainnel sin do uith f*or* a de*r*naind co roisc*eth* roind *ocus* dail *ocus* dergud i toighib rígh *ocus* ærchinnech. Ni uith cuit don mnai sin i mbulg nach a clior [=criol] nach an-oentaig aithig tighi *ach*t a bith in-uarboith f*ri* less amuig na tisad airbuid de muir na tir docum a aircindich.[1]

fol. 50 a. 2, line 25: Incipit sententia angeli Adomnano.

fol. 50 b. 1, line 28: IS sead inso fo*rus* cána Adomnan for Her*inn* *ocus* Alb*ain*.[2]

This piece, together with the pieces numbered respectively 27 and 28, was transcribed by O'Donovan, in 1859, for the Brehon Law Commission; but has not yet been published.

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1 'Five Times before Christ's Nativity, to wit, from Adam to the Flood; from the Flood to Abraham; from Abraham to David; from David to the Captivity in Babylon; from the Babylonian captivity to Christ's birth. Women abode in bondage and in baseness at that season *till* Adamnán son of Ronan, &c. came. *Cumalach* was a name for women till Adamnán came to free them, and this was the *cumalach*, the woman for whom a hole was dug at the end of the door, so that it came over her nakedness; the end of the spit upon her till the cooking of the portion ended. After she had come out of that earth-pit she had to dip a candle four man's-handbreadths (long) in a plate of butter or lard; that candle had to be on her palm until division and distribution (of liquor) and making beds, in houses of kings and superiors, had ended. That woman had no share in bag nor in basket, nor in company of the house-master; but she dwelt in a booth outside the enclosure, lest bane from sea or land should come to her superior.'

2 'This is the knowledge of Adamnán's law upon Ireland and Scotland.'

27. Poem, in 13 stanzas, on the Psalms (fol. 51 b. 1, line 10). Begins:

Sreth a salmaib suad slan
feib rohorddaig Adamnan.[1]

28. Title: Incipit immathcor nAil*il*la *ocus* Airt[2] (fol. 51, b. 2). Begins: Leccis Ail*ill* Aulomm a bein .i. Sadhb ingen Chuind Chet-chath*aig*.[3] Ends imperfectly: arnamder*u*star do erriug a mathar muin coirchea miarilichea mochaine cett.

29. A fragment beginning: muintire. Olldam dicit. Nuall nan nailã arfich cinaith a chintiu. Ends (fol. 52 a. 1, line 13): mór muireg oc múr. Finit.

30. Poem, in 19 stanzas, on ecclesiastical seasons and days (fol. 52 a. 1, line 14). Begins:

A Loingsig a hEs m*ac* nEirc
at fes at fer cond[es]eirc:
in fetar cethardha cain
do bith in-gach oenbl*iadain*.[4]

Ends (52 a. 2, line 23): bat meb*ur* lat, a Loings*ig*.

31. The poem composed by Dá Choca on the night when the Bruden Dá Choca was destroyed. Prose preface and glosses begin fol. 52 a. 2, line 24.

The poem and interlinear glosses. Begins: Fil and grian glindi hái[5] (fol. 52 b. 1, line 16). Ends (52 b. 2, line 17): tobar án ferba faili.

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[1] 'A series out of psalms of sound sages, as Adamnán arranged.'

[2] '(Here) begins the mutual restoration of Ailill and Art.'

[3] 'Ailill An-lomm left his wife, even Sadb daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles.'

[4] 'O Loingsech, from Ess mac nEirc, it is declared that thou art a man with charity. Knowest thou the fair tetrad which is in every year?'

[5] 'There is there the sun of Glenn Ái (*i.e.*, according to the gloss, hen's eggs).' The poem describes X a banquet, using *kennings* for the ingredients.

There is a copy of this poem in the Irish MS. at Stockholm, which ends: la top*ra*n fe*r*ba faili.

32. A note in seven lines, begins (fol. 52 b. 2, line 17): IShe se tom*us* cuirp Crist arna gab*ail* o Chonsantin impir.[1]

33. Preface, part of the prologue, and the epilogue to the Calendar of Oengus, with some notes thereon (fol. 53 a. 1–64 a. 2). The preface begins: [C]ethardai condagar da cach elathain.[2] Ends (53 b. 1, line 33): rogab fine Echdach aird.[3]

The prologue begins (fol. 53 b. 1, line 34): [S]én a Cr*ist* molabra.[4] Ends (53 b. 2, last line): ite cena[e]s mairsium.[5]

The epilogue begins fol. 54 a: [Ó]n k*allaind* coaraili.[6] Ends (56 b, line 28): in rigrad imrordus.[7]

The notes begin fol. 57 a. 1 and end fol. 64 a. 2. They are on the Calendar for the months of January, February, March, April, August, September, October, November, and December.

34. Poem, in five stanzas, in the metre *rinnard* (fol. 56 b., line 28). Begins: Bendacht indrig [leg. ríg] donélaib.[8] Ends: in muinter imrord*us*.[9]

35. Two stanzas in *rinnard*, with two lines added to the second (fol. 64 a. 2, line 26). Begins: Cach noem robói [leg. bói], fil, bias.[10]

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[1] 'This is the measure of Christ's body (when) found by the emperor Constantine.'

[2] 'Four things are required by every work of art.'

[3] 'which the sept of high Echu seized.'

[4] Sain, O Christ, my utterance!

[5] 'they are without age, like Him.'

[6] 'From one calend (New year's day) to another.'

[7] 'the kingfolk whom I have commemorated.'

[8] 'The blessing of the King of clouds.'

[9] 'the household whom I have commemorated.'

[10] 'Every saint who hath been, is, will be.'

36. Quatrain (fol. 64 a. 2, line 31). Begins: Cech noeb, cech noebuag, cech mairtir.[1]

Scribe's note, partly illegible (64 a. 2, line 34): A Dé nach mairend anti rosgraib[2] . . . . . . Marbhan leth imean oc (?) did in leabhair s . . . . ruag*h* mac Maoltuile et gach aén legfes go t[ucad] bena*cht* ar anmain . . . Mise Gille B*rite* mac Mael-tuile.[3]

37. Two legends of S. Moling (fol. 64 b. 1). The first begins: Fecht do Moling is toidin dacai Moeldobar*con* mac Cellaig cuice for ia*rrad* a ech.[4] Ends (64 b. 1, line 33) with the quatrain:

Tugas gablan, orses*um*, dom tig
ar uamun tigbais.
snaidfid anmanna ile
for rich*id* rinnmais.[5]

There is a legend with the same beginning in the Book of Leinster, p. 283 b.

The second is the legend of Moling and the Devil. Begins: Feacht dos*um* ic ernaighti in ecl*esia*.[6] Ends (64 b. 2, line 37): ISór *ocus* rl. Luid ass iarsin.[7] Finid.

Both these legends probably belong to the body of notes on the Félire. The latter legend occurs also in Laud 610 and in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lismore. Two quatrains of the poem with which it ends occur in the ninth-century codex of St. Paul's Kloster, Carinthia.

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[1] 'Every saint, every holy virgin, every martyr.'

[2] 'O God, that he who wrote it does not remain!'

[3] 'and let every one who shall read (this) give a blessing on the soul . . . I (am) Gilla-Bri(g)te son of Mael-tuile.'

[4] 'Once as Moling was in the millpool he saw Mael-dobarchon son of Cellach coming towards him, asking for his horses.'

[5] 'A branch I brought (saith he) to my house for fear of final death. It will save many souls on well-starred heaven.'

[6] 'Once as he was praying in the church.'

[7] 'He is gold,' etc. 'Thereafter he went forth.'

fol. 64 b. 2, line 38. A scribe's note: . . annso doGeroid an Fáni mac Seoirsea dar sgribus an[rem]foculsa infeleri ocus a rairim Oengus do næmaib sund co mbet ag arcabail araen. Misi ocus Geroid easbarta feil Muire nasaindsi ag breth forn. ocus Muire ocus naim inlibuirsi dfagbail a cnamabad dvin orfiada, ar ni fvaramarni re fochreic ãnc amBaili Atha Bvide, ocus tabrad gach æn legfes bennacht ar anmain in sgribneda (a)nno .d. m°. aeis Tigerni.[1]

38. Homily on the Nativity. Begins (fol. 65 a. 1): Factum hautem in illis diebus exiiet edictum a Cesaire Augusto ut discriberetur uníuersus orbis. Doronadh isna laithibsin immorro erfuacra occ Cesair Auguist coro airmithi int-uile doman.[2] Ends (71 a. 1, line 28): Ailim trocaire De ocus Isu Crist rogenair isin laithisi, Roisam, roaitrebam in secula secolorum, amen. Finid.[3]

At foot are some ill-written verses entitled Ród . . oCor(n)ín cecinit, and beginning: Buadacht uaim dom compan an tí as iomlan a threghib.

After this some more verses entitled 'Brian mac Dergan cecinit,' and beginning: Ag scoith na bPluingeadach.

39. Homily on the Passion. Begins (fol. 71 a. 2): Et ymno dicto exierunt in montem Oliuet .i. o roscaich

[1] '. . . here for Gerald an Fáni son of George, for whom I have written this preface of the Calendar; and may all the saints that Oengus enumerated here be together . . ing us! I and Gerald, the eve of the festival of Mary . . . . . on us. And Mary and the saints of this book to leave us their portion (?) of delight for we have not found . . . . . in Baile Atha Buidi. And let every one who shall read (this book) give a blessing to the soul of the scribe, anno MD. of the Lord's age.'

[2] 'Now in those days a proclamation was made by Caesar Augustus that all the world should be numbered.'

[3] 'I beseech the mercy of God and of Jesus Christ who was born on this day. May we all attain! May we dwell (in heaven) for ever and ever. Amen. Finit.'

do Isu *cona* apstalaib atlugud dochuaid i sleib Olifeit.[1] Ends imperfectly (fol. 75 b. 2), sibsi im*morro* a caillecho næbda . . . . chana· dui . . . . . arne dobith foirb arisi*n* . . . .

At foot of fol. 73 a. 1: Misi Dubthach ó Duibg*en*nan doscrib anra*m* do *Con*cobar ó Mailchonaire día b*rathair* a leb*ar* Ge*r*oid afayé (?) *ocus* sinn ag feithim ar athchuinghid d'íar*rad* ar ingen m*i*c B::na*n* ar mnai i *Con*chob*air* Ruaidh, *ocus* cotuca Dia disis in do tabairt duin.[2]

40. A copy of the Book of Invasions, fol. 76 A.—fol. 97 b. 1.

fol. 76 A. a. 1 begins imperfectly: Co torchair la Fiacha m*ac* Zair.[3]

The subsequent sections are entitled as follows:—

fol. 76 A. a. 2, line 36. Comamserad rig an dom*ain* inso fri rigaib Fer mBolc.[4]

fol. 76 A. b. 1, line 30. Batar clanda Beothach m*i*c Iarboniel.[5]

fol. 76 B. a. 1, line 31. Do gabail Cesrach annso sis.[6]

fol. 77 a. 1, line 21. De gabail Partoloin annso.[7]

fol. 78 b. 2, line 4. Gabail Nemid sisana.[8]

fol. 79 b. 2, line 34. Comaimserad Nemid annso sis.[9]

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[1] 'and when Jesus and his apostles had finished praying he went to Mount Olivet.'

[2] 'I (am) Dubthach O'Duibgennan who wrote the . . . *ram* (? *Amra*) for Conchobar O Maelchonairi, for his relative, out of Gerald a Fani's book, and we intending to ask our demand of Mac B . . nan's daughter O'Conchobair Ruaid's wife. And may God grant to her to give that to us!'

[3] 'so that he fell by Fiacha son of Star.'

[4] 'The synchronizing of the kings of the world here with the kings of the Fir Bolg.'

[5] 'The children of Beotha son of Iarbonél were biding!'

[6] 'Of Cesair's taking (of Ireland) here below.'

[7] 'Of Partholon's taking here.'

[8] 'Nemed's taking below.'

[9] 'Synchronising of Nemed here below.'

fol. 80 b. 2, line 30. Comaimser rig an domain fri Tuaith de D*anann* inso.[1]

fol. 81 a. 2, line 13. Gabail Goidel *ocus* a comaimseradh inso.[2]

fol. 82 b. 2, line 5. Aileiu (sic) iath nEr*enn*.[3]

fol. 83 b. 2, line 25. Comaimserda*cht* rigraide Er*enn* fri rig*ra*id an domain inso.[4]

fol. 84 a. 2, line 12. C*eist*, cid diata Emain Macha?[5] See Book of Leinster, p. 20 a.

A tract on the Roman realm (fol. 87 a. 1, line 22). Begins: Flaithi*us* Róman, t*ra*, ise flaithes deginach an domain et ni cumangar a rim ang*ra*daib *ocus* a ceimendaib ar imat a *con*sal *ocus* a *con*ditore *ocus* a legaite *ocus* a coimite *ocus* a ndictodoire *ocus* a pat*ri*ci a pat*ra*pas [leg. satrapas] *ocus* a lataire *ocus* a ndiuice *ocus* a cent*ur*e.[6]

INt-airim cetach innso,[7] (fol. 88 a. 2, line 6).

Do flaithiusaib an domain moir anso sis,[8] (fol. 89 a. 1, line 2). Begins with the following quatrain:

Réidigh dham, a Dé do nim,
coheimidh ann innisin,
uair nach cofel gnim iar fuin
senchus degrig an domain[9] Et rl.

[1] 'Synchronism of the kings of the world with the Tuath-Dee-Danann this.'

[2] 'The Gaels' taking and their synchronising here.'

[3] 'I beseech Erin's land.'

[4] 'Synchronising of Ireland's kingfolk with the kingfolk of the world here.'

[5] 'Question, whence is (the name) Emain Macha?'

[6] 'The realm of the Romans, now, it is the last realm of the world, and it is impossible to reckon their ranks and their steps because of the multitude of their consuls and their founders and their legates and their counts and their dictators and their patricians, their satraps, and their legislators (?), and their judges and their centurions.'

[7] 'The centenary number here.'

[8] 'Of the realms of the great world here below.'

[9] 'Make easy for me, O God of heaven,
Quickly the statement—
For there is no deed after death,—
The history of the good kings of the world.'

In top margin of fol. 89: In Dei nomine amén. Emanuel. An satharn odie *ocus* roba flesc [leg. fusc ?] i(n) oidchi irair.[1]

Fol. 90 b. 2, line 14. Míniug*ud* gabal nEr*enn* *ocus* a senchas *ocus* a re*mmen*d rigraide innso sis *ocus* ethre ambeolu aisneisin *ocus* labra ógh dondni remunn o thosach ind libair co tici indso,[2] ut dicunt histo*rici*.

At top of fol. 91 b.: a Muiri, a rígan na secht ni(m)e, *co*nacna frinn, *ocus* cu rosæra ar gach ngalur.[3]

At top of fol. 94 a.: In Dei nomine. an rotuirim Oeng*us* M*ac* Oiblen isind feleri do naemaib *ocus* mairt*er*ib *ocus* faismedach*aib* *ocus* iresich*aib*[4] s. . . . . .

fol. 95 a. 1, line 18. De Cruithnechaib annso bevs.[5]

fol. 97 a. 2, line 18. Rig H*érenn* iar creitim .vc. Begins: Laegaire xxx. bli*adne*. Ends (97 b. 1, line 13): Ruaidri .ii.x.

See the Book of Leinster, p. 24 a,

41. Note on the resemblance of Ireland to Paradise (fol. 97 b. 1, line 14). INis Herenn, tra, rosuidigad isin fuined. Am*al* ata Pardas Adaim i*con* turcbail is aml*aid* ata Heriu ocun fuiniud, *ocus* asat cosmaile o aicniud uire .i. am*al* ata Pardas cen biasta, cen nathraigh, cen leomain, cen dracoin, cen scoirp, cen muir, cen rain. IS amlaid ata Eiriu fon inn*us* cetna, cen nach nan[m]anna

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[1] 'The Saturday *hodie* and there was wet yestereve in the night.'

[2] 'Explanation of the conquests of Ireland, and its history and its series of kingfolk here below, and an end before relating, and perfect utterance of that before us, from the beginning of the book as far as this is.'

[3] 'O Mary, O Queen of the seven heavens, work along with us and save (us) from every disease!'

[4] 'May all the saints and martyrs and confessors and faithful ones whom Oengus son of Oiblén recounted . . .'

[5] 'Of the Picts here moreover.'

nerchoitech acht m*ic* tire nama, am*al* atb*er*at eolaig *ocus* rl.[1]

42. On the first three judgments that were delivered in Ireland (fol. 97 b. 1, line 24). Begins: ISi an cet breth ruc*ad* ind Erind.[2]

43. Story of Finnian of Magh Bile (fol. 97 b. 1). Begins: IAr tuidhe*cht* du Finnien Maighe Bile cosin soiscéla i tir nErend i crich Ulad antainriud luid dochum laich saidbir antainriudh and.[3] Ends (98 b. 1): Bid oirdnidiu do techsa cobrath, ol Tuan.[4] quia hic locus.

44. Poem in seven stanzas about Tuan mac Cairill (fol. 97 b. 2). Begins: Tuan m*ac* Cairill roclas dorad Isu f*or* anfos. Ends (97 b. 2, line 20): robai acall*aim* Tuain.

45. Quatrain beginning: Dia rorannta *cóic*id Er*enn* (fol. 97 b. 2, line 21), 'When the provinces of Ireland were divided.'

46. Four quatrains (fol. 97 b. 2, line 24) about Belltaine (May-day), Lugnasad (Lammas-day), Samain (All Saints day), and Imbolc (Candlemas).

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[1] 'Now the island of Ireland has been set in the west. As Adam's Paradise stands at the sunrise so Ireland stands at the sunset. And they are alike in the nature of the soil, to wit, as Paradise is without beasts, without a snake, without a lion, without a dragon, without a scorpion, without a mouse, without a frog, so is Ireland in the same manner without any harmful animal, save only the wolf, as sages say, etc.'

[2] 'This is the first judgment that was delivered in Ireland.'

[3] 'After Finnian of Magh Bile came with the Gospel into the land of Erin, into the province of Ulster especially, he went to a wealthy hero especially there.'

[4] '"Thy house will be most dignified till Doom," saith Tuan.'

47. Correspondence between Alexander and Dinnim, the Dandamis of Plutarch and Arrian, the Dindimus of the tract De Bragmanis, ed. Bisse, Lond. 1668, all seemingly corruptions of Skr. da*nd*in. Begins (fol. 99 a. 1): Assed, tra, dorimther [is]ind eips*til* Alax*andir* ccin bói Alax*ander* a nirt comoralta eips*tli* et*arr*u *ocus* Dinnim rig inna mBragmanda.[1] Ends (100 b. 2, line 21): IT eat annsin .u. eipist*li* immaralait iter Alaxander rig an domain *ocus* Dinnim rig na mBragmanda. FINID.[2]

This forms part of the Alexander-saga published from the Lebar Brecc by Dr. Kuno Meyer, *Irische Texte*, Zweite Serie.

48. Story of Neissi daughter of Eochu Yellowheel (fol. 100 b. 2, line 22). Begins: Neissi ingeun Echach Salbuide. Bui inda rigsuide amaig ar Emain *ocus* a rigingena uimpi.[3] Ends (100 b. 2, line 36): isin luirig iairn tic sin.[4]

In a tale printed from the Stowe MS. No. 992, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 174–178, she is called Neas.

100 b. 2, line 36. A scribe's note (which should have been on fol. 97 b. 1). Finit do Leab*ar* Gab*ala* Glind da Locha. acsin duit uaim.[5]

49. Title: INcipit di Baili in Scail inso ar slicht hsenlib*uir* Duib da leithi .i. comarpa Pat*raic*[6] (fol. 101 a.)

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[1] 'Now this is related in Alexander's letter, (that) so long as Alexander was in power letters were interchanged between him and Dindimus the King of the Brahmans.'

[2] 'Those are the five letters that were interchanged between Alexander the King of the world and Dindim the King of the Brahmans. Finit.' This colophon is incorrectly printed in the preface to Dean Reeves' essay on the Culdees, Dublin, 1864.

[3] 'Neissi daughter of Echu Yellowheel was on her throne out before Emain with her royal maidens around her.'

[4] 'in the hauberk of iron that cometh.'

[5] 'A *finit* to the Book of Conquest of Glenn da Locha. There (it is) for thee from me.'

[6] 'Here beginneth the Champion's Frenzy, an extract of the old Book of Dub-dá-leithe, a successor of Patrick.'

Begins: Laa robúi *Cond* i Temraich iar ndith dona rigaib atracht matin moch for (rígr)aith na Temrach ria t*er*cbail greni *ocus* a tri druid ríam.[1] Ends (105 b. 2, line 7): Regaid éc aitti iar sein dicretair creissin tri Temuir. FINET.

50. Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig and Hound (fol. 105 b. 2, line 8). Begins: Bái brughaid amra do Laighnib, m*ac* Dá-Thó a comainm.[2] Ends (108 a. 2, line 18): *co*nidh hésin scaradh *Uladh* *ocus* *Con*nacht im choin M*ic* dá Thó *ocus* immá muic.[3] FINET.

Printed by Prof. Windisch, *Irische Texte,* pp. 93–112, from the Book of Leinster.

51. Legend of S. Patrick, King Loegaire's son Enna, and Michael the Archangel (fol. 108 a. 2, line 19). Printed infra, p. 556.

52. Senchus muici féili Martain indso síss.[4] Printed infra, p. 560.

53. The saga of the destruction of Irard mac Coisi's stronghold, Clarthá. The preface begins (fol. 109 a. 1): IRard mac coisi arráinic ind airec menmansa do ceneol íarna indr[i]d cobindligthech i cinaidh Muiredaigh mic Eog*ain* do guin *con*-air*n*echt indlig*ed* f*r*iss co rucsat a bú *ocus* a seotu *ocus* gur airgset a dún feissin .i. Clarthá.[5] The tale (which Irard himself re-

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[1] 'One day that Conn was biding on Tara after the destruction of the Kings he went forth in early morning, before sunrise, on the royal rampart of Tara, with his three wizards before him.'

[2] 'There was a wonderful hospitaller of Leinster, *Mac-dá-thó* ("son of two silent ones") was his name.'

[3] 'So that is the severing of Ulster and Connaught because of Mac-dá-thó's hound and because of his pig.'

[4] 'The tradition of the Martinmas pig this below.'

[5] 'Irard mac Coise found this mental invention . . . . after he had been unlawfully raided on. Because Muiredach Eoganson was slain by him illegality was found against him, so that they carried away his cows and his treasures and wrecked his own stronghold, even Clarthá.'

lates to King Domnall, son of Murchertach Niallson) begins (fol. 110 a. 1, line 21): [R]ohort ém a cath*air* f*or* Mael Milscothach.[1] Ends (fol. 114 b. 1, line 17): .i. co*m*encl. fri rig Temrach do acht co ti de in trede sin. Finit.

The portion of the preface which gives a list of sagas is printed by Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Essai d'un Catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*, pp. 260–264.

54. A tale, entitled Erchoitmed ingine Gulidi inso,[2] begins: (fol. 114 b. 1, line 18) [R]í rogab Mumain, edhón Feidlimid m*ac* Crimthain. Luidside fecht and f*or* morcuairt Muman *con*arala síar inIarmumain coroc*h*t Áth Loche. Ba hand sén bai baili Gulide in cainti ba geriu *ocus* bá gortiu *ocus* ba hamainsiu bai inH*é*r*iu* ina aimsir.[3] Ends (115 b. 1, line 23): *ocus* forfacaib Feidhlimidh bend*ach*tain.[4] Finit.

55. The Tragical Death of Diarmait's three Sons (*Oided tri mac nDiarmata*). Begins (fol. 115 b. 1, line 24): [L]otar meic Díarmata mic Ferg*u*sa Ceirrbéoil fecht i tír Laigen for creich.[5] Ends (116 a. 1, line 29): Adhaigh tri mac nDiarmata corici sin.[6]

56. Story of Maelodrán mac Díma Croin. Begins (fol. 116 a., line 30): [L]oech amn*as* robái do Dáil Mosscorp

[1] 'His fortress was wrecked on Mael Milscothach (sweet-worded).'

[2] 'The excuse of Gulide's daughter this.'

[3] '(There was) a king who took Munster, to wit, Feidlimid Crimthanson. Once upon a time he went on a great circuit of Munster and fared westward into Ormond till he reached Áth Loche. It was there was the stead of Gulide, the sharpest and bitterest and keenest lampooner who dwelt in Ireland at his time.'

[4] 'And Fedlimid left a blessing.'

[5] 'The sons of Diarmait son of Fergus Wrymouth went once on a foray into the land of Leinster.

[6] 'The Tragical Death of Diarmait's sons as far as that.'

Laigen .i. Mælodrán *mac* Díma Cróin.[1] Ends (116 b. 2, line 4): Roadhn*acht* som di*diu* anGlinn dá Locha,[2] díanébrad:

Ligi Mælodhrain isligi
a nglinn *fri* gaithe clua a
ligi m*eic* *Con*naid nícheil
con linn itigh mo chua a. Finit.

57. Dialogue, in verse, between Fithel Féigbriathrach and King Cormac, who had not asked the former to a banquet at Tara. The prose preface begins (fol. 116 b. 2, line 5): Fithel rocan inso íar n-ol fleidi bici brígh-mairi do Cormac secha *ocus* rofrecart Corm*ac* eisium.[3] The dialogue begins (line 21): Nucua (= noch-ba) me; and ends (line 38): ce gaba nech ní ba mé. N.

Here, according to the old red foliation, two leaves are lost.

58. Latter part of the *Tochmarc Emire* ('Wooing of Emer'). Begins (fol. 117 a. 1): Asselbhthea dine cec*h*a cethræ f*or* selb bel. Ends (118 a. 2): *ocus* dol-luidh comboi indEmain Machæ.[4] Finit. Amen. Finit.

The commencement is in *Lebar na hUidre*, pp. 121–124.

59. Scathach's parting words to Cúchulainn. The preface is (fol. 117 b. 1): Incipiunt uerbai (*sic*) Scathaige fri Coinchul*ainn* oc sc*ar*ad doib isna randaib thair o roscaich do Choinculainn lán foglaimb in milti la Scathaich.

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[1] 'There was a fierce hero of the Division of Moscorp of Leinster, even Maelodran son of Dimma Crón.'

[2] 'So he was buried in Glenn dá Locha.'

[3] 'Fithel sang this after . . Cormac had drunk a small . . . carouse in his absence, and Cormac answered him.'

[4] 'and he went till he was in Emain Macha.'

Doairchechain Scathach do iarum anni aridmbiad, co n-epert fris tria imbas foroisndi dia foirciund.[1] Begins:

IMbe err haengaile:
arut-ossa olIgabad
huathad fri heit imlibir.[2]

fol. 118 b. 1, line 34:

Atchiu firfeith Finnbe*n*nach
hóei fria Dond-Cuailnge ardbaurach.[3]

Finit.

Another copy of this curious specimen of alliterative rimeless verse is in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 125 b.

60. Tale about Cúchulainn's invasion of the Isle of Mann. Begins (fol. 117 b. 2): Incipit *for*fess fer Falgæ .i. fer Manand isiside foillsigti do Ullt*aib* ahEmain Machæ dia tubart ind hengribb in scoith milidea doib, *ocus* is hiar*um* luid Cucul*ainn ocus* fiu *for*fess fer Falchæ *ocus* selaig firu Faal huile ar galaib oinfir.[4] Ends (118 b. 1, in marg.): Get haicellnæ do Chonchabar crich iar ndedail.

61. The story of Bran mac Febail. Begins (fol. 119 a. 1): [C]oeca rand rogab in ben a tírib ingnad *for* lar

1 '(Here) begin the words of Scathach to Cúchulainn as they were . . . in the parts in the east, when Cúchulainn had ended his full education in warfare by Scathach. Then Scathach prophesied to him what should befall him, and she spake to him, through *imbas forosnai*, of his end.'

2 'Thou wilt be a champion of single combat. Great peril awaits thee, alone at the vast Cattlespoil.'

3 'I see Find-bennach ('white-horned') will make an attack (?) against the loud-bellowing Donn of Cúalnge.'

4 '(Here) begins the Siege of the Men of Falg, that is, of the men of Mann. It is that that was manifested to the Ultonians out of Emain Macha when . . . . to them and then Cuchulainn went and . . . siege of the men of Falg, and slew all the men of Fál in duels.'

an tige do Bran *mac* Febail.[1] Ends (120 b. 2, line 20): Atfet a imte*chta* uili o thosach *ocus* scribais inna runda so *tria* hogum, *ocus* celebrais doib iar*um* *ocus* nifes a imthechta ond uaír sin.[2] Finit.

There are copies of this saga in H. 2. 16, col. 395–399, and in the Irish MS. at Stockholm. Twenty-four lines of the end are in *Lebor na hUidre,* p. 121.

62. The commencement of the story of Connla Ruad. Begins (fol. 120 b. 2, line 21): Conla Ruad *mac* do Chund Chétchath*aig* amboe laa n-and for laim aath*ar* ind ochtar Uisnig, con-faccai mnai in-etach anetargnaid.[3] Ends (120 b. 2, line 34): nad accai nech in mnai *acht* *Co*nlai aoenar.[4] Respondit mulier.

Printed by Prof. Windisch in his *Irish Grammar* from *Lebar na hUidre,* p. 120. A critical text of some of the alliterative unrimed verse in the story is given, with French translations, by the same scholar in the *Revue Celtique,* v., pp. 389, 478.

63. Poem, in 24 stanzas, on Reilec na Ríg ('The Kings' Burial-place'). Begins (fol. 121 a. 1):

A reilec lœch Leithe Cuinn
cia dot maithib nach moluim?[5]

Ends (fol. 121 a. 2, line 34):

gur særa Diá intó datic
isé is riar do cach reilic.[6] A reilec.

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[1] 'Fifty staves which the woman from the unknown lands sang on the floor of the house to Bran son of Febal.'

[2] 'He relates all his goings from the beginning and he wrote those quatrains in ogham, and then bade them farewell; and from that hour his goings are not known.'

[3] 'Connla the Red son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, when he was biding one day at his father's hand in the upper part of Uisnech, he saw a woman in strange raiment.'

[4] 'No one saw the woman save Conn alone.'

[5] 'O burial-ground of Leth Cuinn's heroes, which of thy worthies should I not praise?'

[6] 'May God save him who comes to it! This is the desire of every burial-ground.'

64. Poetical dialogue (20 stanzas, in *rinnard*) between Findchú and Sétna, in which the latter foretells the calamities which will happen at the end of the world. Begins (fol. 121 b. 1): Findchú o Brí Goband roimchomhairc Sétna Chluana Bic fónindass sa sís, *ocus* rofregair Sétna dó amail ata sísana:

Apair rim a Sétna,
scela deiridh betha
cinn*as* bías an líne
nách lorg fíre a mbretha.[1]

Ends (121 b. 2, line 17): ní bía esb*aid* orra.[2] Ab*air*.

65. Note on the Besom out of Fánait. Begins (fol. 121 b. 2, line 18): IS i ndíghail marbtha Eoin Baup*taist* *immorro* tic an scuap a Fánait do erglanad Er*enn* fri deired in domain, am*al* rotairrngir Ailerán ind ecna *ocus* Colamcille.[3] Ends (122 a. 1, line 6): cen chomáin, cen tsac*arbaic*.[4]

See the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. cxxxiv.

66. Story of Eithne and King Cormac. Title (fol. 122 a. 1, line 7): Easnam tighe Buicet inso.[5] Begins: Bái coire feile la Laighniu, Buichet a ainm.[6] Ends (122 b. 2, line 15): IArsin, tra, dorat Cormac dó anrosíacht a radarc do múr Cenandsa, itir boin *ocus* duine *ocus* ór *ocus* argat *ocus* coirmthech co cend secht-

[1] 'Findchú of Bri-Gobann interrogated Setna of Cluain Becc in this wise below, and Sétna answered him as standeth below:
"Tell me, O Sétna,
Tidings of the world's end.
How will be the folk
That follow not the truth of their judgment?"'

[2] 'There will be no defect on them.'

[3] 'It is in vengeance for the slaying of John Baptist now, that the Besom comes out of Fánat to thoroughly cleanse Ireland at the end of the world as Aileran of the Wisdom foretold and Colombcille.'

[4] 'without communion, without mass.'

[5] '"The Music of Buicet's house" this.'

[6] 'The Leinstermen had a 'caldron of hospitality' named Buichet.'

maine. Easnam tighi Buichit dona dámaib .i. a gengáire sium frisna dámuibh 'Focen duib, bid maith duib, bud maith dúinne sibsi!' Esnamh an *coi*cat laech conan-ed[gud]aib corcraib *ocus* conan-erradaib do oirirfited intan batis mesca na dáma. Esnam an *cói*cat ing*en* for lár in tighi ina lendaibh corcra cona-mongaibh órbuidibh dara n-édaighibh a síanan *ocus* a n-andord *ocus* an-esnam ac oirfitedh in tsluaigh. Esnam in *cói*cat cruitire iarsin co matain ac talgud in tsloigh do chíul: conidh de sin atá esnamh tighi Buichet. Finet.[1]

67. Commencement of the story of Baile the Sweet-voiced. Begins (122 b. 2, line 16): Baile Bindbérlach m*ac* Búain rl. Ends (122 b., line 36): Roturnait a carpait (their chariots were unyoked).

68. Fragment of a much-faded Irish tale of the Arthurian cycle (fol. 123 a. 1—139 b. 2). It begins at fol. 123 a. 1 with a legend of Solomon. The names 'Ser-Persaual' and 'Ser-Gal*aad*' occur in 123 b. 1, 124 b. 1; 'Ser-Boos' (Bors), 124 b. 1; the bishop 'Iosopus mac Iosep de Barumat,' 124 b. 2; 'Ser Lam*selot* de lac,' 128 b. 1, 129 a. 2; 'Ser Meliant,' 137 a. 2. The original of the tale (if, as is probable, it is a translation) may perhaps be ascertained from the following passages

[1] 'After that Cormac gave him all his eyesight reached from the rampart of Kells, both cow and human being, and gold and silver, and alehouse, to the end of a week. "The music of Buichet's house" to the companies, that is, his cheery laugh to the companies: "Welcome to you: it is well for you: ye will be a benefit unto us!" The music of the fifty heroes with their purple garments and with their robes to delight (them) when the companies were cupshotten. The music of the fifty maidens in their purple mantles, with their golden-yellow hair over their garments, and their song and their burden and their music delighting the host. The music of the fifty harpers thereafter till morning, a-soothing the host with melody. Wherefore thence is "The Music of Buichet's house."'

(fol. 123 b. 1): Dala na rideredh im*morro*, ar clui*n*stin (*sic*) na scel sin doib, dotaet ser-Persaual gusinn-imdaigh, *ocus* rotocaib intimfolach robai tairrsi arnuchtar, *ocus* roleigh na litri, *ocus* ised roraid: 'A ser-Gal*aad*, a modh dilis Dé!' ar se, 'is duit rocoimet in Tigerna Iesu Chr*ist* na comarda sp*ír*taltsa, *ocus* ni fuil nach n-esb*aid* orainn innosa.'[1] (fol. 129 a. 2, line 20): Rohimluaigh in gaeth iarsin ser-Lams*elot* *ocus* ser-Gal*aad* anaician in mara, *ocus* robad*ur* lan lethbliadain for sechran *ocus* for merugud insedh *ocus* oilen *ocus* ac fuaslucud cest *ocus* chaingen isna hiathaib anaithintaib, *ocus* a crichnug*ud* ingantadh *ocus* faisdine in domain.[2]

69. Four stanzas of a poem attributed (says Dean Reeves) to Columba. Begins (fol. 126 a. 2):

Aibhinn bith ar B[i]nn Etair.[3]

Ends (line 8):

Fuil suil nglais
fhecf*as* Erind tarahais:
nocha fa(ic)fe sí re la
firu Erenn nach a mna.[4]

The whole poem (of 23 stanzas) is printed in Reeves' *Vita Columbae*, pp. 285–289, and the stanza just quoted occurs also in Lebor na hUidre, p. 5 a.

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[1] 'Now, as regards the knights, after they had heard those tidings, Sir Parcivale went to the bed and raised the covering that lay over it, and read the letters, and this he said: "O Sir Galahad, O God's own servant!" saith he, "it is for thee that the Lord Jesus Christ hath preserved these spiritual signs, and there is now no defect upon us."

[2] 'Thereafter the wind hurled Sir Lancelot and Sir Galahad into the ocean of the sea, and a full half year they were a-straying and wandering among islands and isles, and resolving questions and causes in the strange territories, and in concluding the marvels and prophecies of the world.'

[3] 'Delightful to be on Benn Étair' (Howth).

[4] 'There is a gray eye,
That shall look back upon Ireland;
It will not see during its day
The men of Ireland nor her women.'

70. In the same column, line 9: Oghum consónant sísana bh .i. a. dl .i. o. ft .i. u. sr .i. e. ng. .i. í.[1]

This key is also given in the grammar appended to O'Beaglaoich's *English-Irish Dictionary*, Paris, 1732, p. 715, where, however, *sc* is given for *sr*, and the following equivalents are added: *mm* = ea, *ll* = ia, *b*b = ua, *cc* = ao, and *pp* = oi.

71. Story about Diarmait mac Cerbaill and S. Cíarán at the assembly of Teltown. Begins (fol. 140 a. 1): Feart áenach Taillten la Diarmuid m*a*c Cerbaill in bli*adain* rogab ríge nEr*enn* Ciaran m*a*c in tsair ina anmcarait aice.

72. Story about the Abbot of Drimnagh. Begins (140 a. 1, line 22): Araile oclacch robui an-abdaine Drimenaigh.

73. Story of a holy elder and a woman. Begins (140 b. 1, line 13): (Ar)aile sruith naemda bái ac ernuiti *ocus* ac mol*ad* in Comd*ed* in-araile laa ina regles a aen*ur* go tanic ar(aile) bannscal do tabairt a coimsena do.[2]

74. Story of two ecclesiastical fellow-students. Begins (140 b. 2, line 23): Da m*a*c-cl*érig* robad*ur* a comann oc denam a leighinn.[3]

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[1] 'The Ogham of consonants [*i.e.*, a cryptic Ogham alphabet in which the vowels are represented by combinations of consonants] here below: *bh*, i.e., *a*; *dl*, i.e., *o*; *ft*, i.e., *u*; *sr*, i.e., *e*; *ng*, i.e., *í*.'

[2] 'A certain holy elder was praying and praising the Lord on a certain day in his cell alone, and a certain woman came to make her confession to him.'

[3] 'Two clerical students were reading together.'

75. Story of Columba in Aran. Begins (141 a. 1, line 36): Laa naen tanic Colam cilli timcell reilge Airne co facaid int-adhnacul arsaidh *ocus* incloch nemgluaiste.[1]

76. Story of King Guaire Aidne, S. Cumne Fota and Cáimine of Inis Celtra. Begins (141 a. 2, line 10): Fe*achtas* do Guaire Aidne *ocus* do Chumine Foda *ocus* do Caim(ine) Innsi Celt*ra* isinn eclais anInis Celtra.[2]

Another copy was printed by Dr. Todd ('told by the Scholiast on the Felire of Oengus'), in his edition of *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 87. There is a similar legend in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 116.

77. Story of the ghost of M*ac* Craith m*ac* m*ic* in-Lomanaigh (fol. 141 a. 2, line 32).

78. Story of a (c)aillech leighinn, i*ngen* m*eic* Taidg i Cell*aig* Maine (nun of reading, lectrix, daughter of the son of Tadg úa Cellaigh Maine) fol. 141 b. 1, line 5.

79, 80. Two legends about S. Moling of Luachair, foster-son of Mae[d]og of Ferns (141 b. 1, line 17). The legend of Moling and the Devil begins at line 28. Other copies of this are in the Books of Leinster (p. 284 a.), Ballymote, and Lismore, and in Laud 610. The versions in the Book of Leinster and Laud 610 have been published in *Goidelica*, p. 180, and the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. cv.

81. Story of a monk and S. Comgall of Bangor. Begins (fol. 141 b. 2, line 31): Manach craibtech tanic

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[1] 'One day Columb-cille came round the graveyard of Arran and saw the old grave and the cross unmoved.'

[2] 'Once upon a time Guaire Aidne and Cumine the Tall and Cáimine of Inis Celtra were in the church in Inis Celtra.'

taris anoir do cumsinedh *cra*baid re Comgall Benncair ('a pious monk came over from the east to vie in devotion with Comgall of Bennchor').

82. Story of Brenainn moccu-Alta. Begins (142 a. 1): Fea*chtas* doBrenainn m*ac* ua Allta.

83. Story of Baithín and Colomb-cille. Begins (fol. 142 a. 2, line 11): Baithin m*ac* Brenainn m*ic* Fergusa *ocus* Columcille m*ac* Feidlim(the) m*ic* Fergusa .i. clann da d*er*b*r*ath*ar*.

84. Story of Mo-chuta and the Devil (fol. 142 a. 2, line 27).

85. Story of David, Solomon, and Absolom (Abstalon) (fol. 142 b. 1, line 9).

86. More about Mo-chuta Rathin (142 b. 2, line 8).

87. Legend of Job (142 b. 2, line 32).

fol. 143 a. 1, line 34. A scribe's note: Or*ait* ann do Ṡeon Pluingced *ocus* d'ingin Barun Galatruim dar sc[r]ibad in lebar so.[1]

90. A prophecy. Begins (143 a. 2): Ticfaidh aimser .i. aimser gan firinne, etech gan athmela.[2]

91. Legend of S. Patrick, King Loegaire's son, and the archangel Michael (143 a. 2, line 10).

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[1] 'A prayer here for John Plunket and for the daughter of the Baron of Galtrim, for whom this book was written.'

[2] 'A time will come, to wit, a time without righteousness, perjury without repentance, etc.'

92. Foillsigter na focail ar tri coraib .i. scel *ocus* arr*um*ainte *ocus* (s)tair [1] (fol. 143 b. 1).

93. fol. 143 b. 1, line 11: Araile ferann fil isin doman toir anAisia a hainm luin gela bid ann dogres *ocus* celebraid a t*ra*tha fo aisti na hecl*aise* *ocus* na ndainc IS siat na luin gela sa cuirp lana genmnaige na firenach conan-anmanaib etro*ch*taib.[2]

94. Story of Cúchulainn and the *timpán*-player Senbecc (fol. 143 b. 1, line 29). Also in Stowe MS. No. 992, from which it is printed, with translation, in *Revue Celtique*, vi. 182.

95. A religious piece, in nine lines, beginning (fol. 143 b. 2, line 14): Antret moch, noma ḟada; and embodying a list of the twelve kinds of repentance.

96. The three wonders of Tara (Tri hinganta Temrach) fol. 143 b. 2, line 23. Printed, from the Book of Ballymote and H. 3. 17, in Todd's *Irish Nennius*, pp. 198, 200.

97. Legend of Gregory and the Widow who laughed at Mass (fol. 143 b. 2, line 27). Ends imperfectly: intan tucadh in co*r*p di.

98. fol. 144 a. 1: End of a legend of Solomon.

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[1] 'The words are manifested for three ends, namely, tidings, and arguments and history.'

[2] 'A certain land there is in the world eastward in Asia, ... is its name. White merles are there continually, and they celebrate their hours after the manner of the Church and human beings. These white merles are the bodies of the righteous full of chastity with their shining souls.'

99. fol. 144 a. 1, line 28: Legend of David and Solomon, who reproached his father for his slowness in dealing dooms. Like the story printed from the Lebar Brecc, in the *Revue Celtique,* II., 382–3.

100. fol. 144 a. 1, line 47; Rí iresech robui do G*re*gaib. mor a tab*ar*tcc *ocus* a deirc. On uair gab*uis* flaithemn*as* nocan fac*as* gen gairi for a beolu.[1]

Similar tale in the Book of Leinster, p. 278 b.

101. Cethrur mac-clerech do f*er*aib Erenn dochuaid inan-oilithre do dul do Roim Letha[2] (fol. 144 a. 2, line 44).

102. Legend of the Emperor Constantine (fol. 144 b. 1, line 35).

103. T*ri* dee Danann .i. tri me*ic* Breisi me*ic* Eladain[3] (fol. 144 b. 2, line 23).

104. The commencement of the *Esnam tige Buicit,* of which a complete copy is mentioned, supra, No. 66. Begins (fol. 144 b. 2, line 33): Bui coiri feili la Laighniu Buicet a ainm. Ends: Am choir a Chathair co toirecht ruacbath uas erenn ial atcomse mocrodh dot chain m*a*cu gen cinta fira faillsigtese arba fiu . . . .

105. On the B. V. Mary. Begins (fol. 145 a. 1): faueat in principio uirgo Maria me .i. co furta*cht*aide Muire bhainntig*er*na dhamh a tosach in oibrighthi oir ad*eir* Augstin næm don tæbh amuigh do M*uir*e banntig*er*na

[1] 'There was a faithful king of the Greeks. Great were his liberality and charity. From the hour that he took the realm a smile of laughter was not seen on his lips.'

[2] 'Four clerical students of the men of Ireland went on their pilgrimage to go to Rome of Latium.'

[3] 'Danu's three gods, that is, three sons of Breise son of Eladan.'

ón onoir t*uc* Dia dhi.[1] Ends (146 b. 2): me*n*ad fein mailisech. 'Ioronimus' (Jerome) and Be*r*nard naem (S. Bernard) are quoted in this column.

106. Fragment of a translation of Pope Innocent's treatise *De miseria humanae conditionis.* Begins (147 a.): doreir na mbriath*ar*so b*ec*an do p*ec*adh *ocus* do drochbesaibh.[2] Ends (154 b. 2): intan docuaid do te*cht*aire*cht* ant-ṡoiscela adub*air*t potum filiorum (?) .i. beannach*ad* na dighi Gurub dar . . .

Mr. S. H. O'Grady informs me that a perfect copy of this translation exists in Egerton 1781, pp. 113–150, and an imperfect copy in Egerton 91, fol. 1, *et seq.*

The manuscript Egerton 93, from which I have taken the Irish text printed infra in pp. 28-46, is a small vellum quarto containing 35 folios, in double columns, 45 lines in each column. The first page is now illegible; fol. 1. b. 1 begins with do naodhen*aibh* ic tothlug*udh* bíth (to infants a-seeking food). The second folio has been cut out, only word-fragments, such as *anm, odcho, erb, nor,* being left. The second part of the Life begins at fol. 4 a. 2, line 17; the third part at fol. 11 a. 2, line 12. The Life ends (fol. 18 b. 2) with the following scribe's note: Andal*a* in Tig*er*na Ysa Cr*ist* in blia*dan* dosc*r*ib*ad* in betha so fPha*traic* 1477. *Ocus* oidchi lughn*us*a imar*ach, ocus* amBaili in Moinin, a tigh Hi T*r*oightigh dosc*r*ib*ad* so lem Domnall Alban*ach* OT*r*oighti, et Deo g*r*acias. IHC. (The era of the Lord Jesus Christ, the year that this Life of Patrick was written, 1477, and Lammas-eve is to-morrow, and in Baile in Móinín, in O'Troighte's house, this has been written by me, Domnall Albanach

[1] 'May the Lady Mary help me in the beginning of the work! For Saint Austin saith . . . . . to Lady Mary from the honour that God gave her.'

[2] According to these words, 'little of sin and of evil usages.'

O'Troighti, and thanks unto God. Jesus.) On the margin of fol. 2 b. are Irish notes in a modern hand. In fol. 4 a. 2, right margin, 'p°' is twice written by the old scribe; so in fol. 5 a. 2, right margin, 'Emanuel manuel dico nobis.' Fol. 5 b. a 'p°' is thrice written in the right margin, 6 a. 2 opposite. This is followed (fol. 19 a.) by a copy of the *Faed Fiada*, beginning Attoruig (*sic*) indiu n*ert* triun togairm T*r*inoite Cretium treodataid foisitiu ao*n*datad inDuilemain dail. For *congbáil* (infra p. 50) this copy has *congmail.* And it has 'for*m*dechaib,' 'midúthracur, 'inuathad,' 'fristai,' 'fri saebb*richt*aib,' 'ban *ocus* gobann *ocus* druag,' 'Crist issuus,' and 'romdosgrudu.' The rest of this page contains a short religious tract in Irish and Latin, and the following Irish account of Patrick's first miracle: Cédf*er*t P*atraic* son*n*a (?) amb*r*oinn a math*ar* doroine .i. m*ac* r̄ig Bretan tainic cohairm ambói inben, coroindáil si do *gur* gab grim *este*, cotug a śéitchi si indigh neimhe do *Con*bais t*re* ed, *con*as ip Conbais indigh, *gur* gab P*atraic* inneim ina glaic *ocus* roso anvn*n* hí inalaim, *con*id aml*aid* sin tvg*ad*sam;[1] and twelve lines so faded that I could not decipher them.

Fol. 19 b. is now illegible.

Fol. 20 a.: A fragment of Bricriu's Feast, beginning: fogartac*h* do iar*um* fagbail fithighi do . . . uib na . . . tt Attrachtat*ar* ra.

This story has been printed from the Lebor na hUidre. by Prof. Windisch in his *Irische Texte*, pp. 254–303.

Fol. 26 a. to end (fol. 35 b.). A fragment of the Táin bó Cúailnge, in a large coarse hand.

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[1] "Patrick's first miracle here, which he wrought in his mother's womb: to wit, the King of Britain's son came to the place wherein the woman dwelt, and she dealt unto him so that he had profit thereof, and his wife, through jealousy, gave the drink of poison to Conbais, and Conbais drank the drink, and Patrick caught the poison in his grasp, and it turned into stone in his hand, and in this wise was he brought forth.

Besides these two copies, pages 520–528 of a vellum MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked H. 3. 18, are filled with extracts from a third copy, which seem to have been selected because each contains one or more glossed words. These extracts are as follows:—

[p. 520, line 20.] Oen di*diu* dia torcetlaib failsi anadfiadar hisunn tre aisndeis sec*h*modachtai [infra, p. 4, ll. 1, 2].

Oen di*diu* dina roithnib *ocus* (dina) lasrachaib roai[d] gr*ian* n[a] firinne isin domun .i. Isa Cr*ist*, INruithen *ocus* in lassair *ocus* in lia logmar *ocus* in locharnn lainnerdai roinorchaid (.i. rocomsollsig) int u(asa)l(epscop) . . . sanctus[1] Patrici*us* [infra, p. 6, ll. 26–30].

Pat*raic* di*diu* [di] Bretnaib Ailcl*uade* a bunad*us* Calpuirn (ainm a athar) .i. uasalsacart. Foitid ainm a ṡenath*ar*, deochon atacomnaic.

Rofothaigedh im*morro* ecl*ais* f*or* (sin to)pursin inrobaits*ed* Patraic *ocus* . . topur acinn altoir, *ocus* tec*h*taid fuath .i. delb na cruiche am*al* adfiadat (.i. am*al* aisneidit) [infra, p. 8, ll. 23–26].

Feacht and boi Pat*raic* a tig a muime . . . . ind amsir gemr*id* colina tola *ocus* lia uisci less a muime [p. 521] corabhad*ar* lest*ra* *ocus* fointreb in tighi (.i. na mingustail dobít isintigarm .i.) f*or* snam *ocus* combaiden intinid [infra, p. 10, ll. 10–13].

Fec*ht* *aile* do Pat*raic* ic cluthchiu itir a comaistiu (.i. a comaltud) innaimsir gemrith *ocus* uachta intainnriu . cotroinol lan a utlaig dobisib eaga (.i. do cuisni heighri) co tuc leis dia taigh coa muime [infra, p. 10, ll. 24–27] *ocus* rosuigid na bis . . . an tenid *ocus* andorat a anal faéi rolassaiset focétoir am*al* c*r*inach . . . [infra, p. 10, l. 24, p. 12, l. 1].

ISe tuirthed (.i. adb*ar*) tainec*ht*a Pat*raic* atosach dochum nErenn [infra, p. 16, l. 4].

ISin aimsir sin (no) gnathaig*eth* Victor angel cotorraimed (.i. cofisraiged (?)) indí P*atraic*, *ocus* coforcanad (.i. cocommetad *no* conanorad)[2] hé imord airnaigthi, *ocus* cofacbath fuillec*ht* *ocus* cis (.i. lorg) a cos isin cloich. Roboi Victor combo ortachtaigthi do P*átraic* *ocus* combo dítnith incac*h*guasac*ht*, *ocus* combo comdignaib (.i. comsasad) iarsna saethraib [infra, pp. 18, 19].

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[1] MS. sancti.

[2] Here, in margin, follows a note: *Ocus* am*al* ad*eir* a . . . naig *mac* f*or*cana indomnach . . . . achaibh coraibh t . . . sraibh thineth di.

At that time the angel Victor used (to come) that he might watch over Patrick, and instruct him as to the order of prayer; and he used to leave trace and track of his feet in the stone. Victor abode till he was a helper to Patrick, and was a guardian in every danger, and a consolation after troubles.

H. 3. 18, p. 521. Dorala im*morro* intan sin do Miliuc condacaid aislingi. Indaleis Cothraige do thia*cht*ain isteach iroibe, *ocus* doinfeit tinith oagin *ocus* oasronaib *ocus* oaclúasaib. Oroaisneid Miliuc do P*atraic* aislingi, d*ixit* Pat*ricius*: Intenid atchonnarcaisthi do todail (.i. dosgailed) damsa ireas (.i. credem) na T*r*inoiti insin bruthnaig*es* innamsa *ocus* rl [infra, p. 19, ll. 18–36].

It happened, however, at that time to Miliuc that he saw a vision. It seemed to him that Cothraige came into the house wherein he was, and breathed out fire from his mouth, and from his nostrils, and from his ears. When Miliuc declared the vision to Patrick, Patrick said: "The fire which thou beheldest me emitting, that is the faith of the Trinity which glows within me," &c.

Oroimraidh im*morro* Miliuc cia crúth nofastfed indí Pat*raic*, roernas cum*ail* dó, *ocus* oforruired in cobled inaidchi aninboth (.i. na baindsi) torinolta itech *for* leith [infra, p. 20, l. 17].

Now when Miliuc considered how he should retain Patrick, he bought a handmaid for him, and when the feast was prepared on their wedding-night they were put together in a house apart.

Ocus adubairt P*átraic* annofaitfed (.i. gaire), "Missi dob*r*athairsiu, *ocus* isme rotic (.i. rotleghis), *ocus* is t*r*ocaire Dé f*or*caemnacair (.i. tarl*a*) arnocomul (.i. ar tinol) dorisi, arronesreided (.i. rosgarad) art*us* t*r*esin daire." Rogniset atlugud buide doDia iarsin, *ocus* dochotar isin ditrub [infra, pp. 20, 21 and 440, 442].

And Patrick said, smiling: "I am thy brother, and it is I that healed thee, and it is God's mercy that brought about our meeting again, for we were separated at first through the bondage." Thereafter they gave thanks to God, and went into the wilderness.

ISannsin taraill (.i. triallus *no* dochuaid) P*átraic* coalaile duine, son-Cianan isé aainm *ocus* rl [infra, p. 22, l. 13].

It is then that Patrick proceeded to a certain man, Old Cianan is his name, &c.

Luid da*no* P*átraic* docum a meannota (.i. a meanaiti) *ocus* anais *tri* mis ann [infra, p. 24, l. 17]. H. 3. 18, p. 521.

So Patrick went to his home and stayed three months therein.

OIR na*cht*an *con*osnad (.i. rocodl*ad*) P*átraic* indaleis ba hinis nan-Goedel adcid ar agnuis [infra, p. 25].

For every time that Patrick slept, it seemed to him that it was the isle of the Gael that he saw before him.

INtan im*morro* robu lan at*ri*cha ·bl*iadn*a *ocus* rosia*cht* anaes foirbit (*sic*), roimraid iarsin te*cht* do Roim Leatha f*ri* foglaim necnai *ocus* oird p*ra*icepta *ocus* for*cet*ail . . . cairdi ar ni comarleiced (.i. nircetaig) dó cor lamha aire (.i. a dul do sacarbaic) cin foghlaim *ocus* cin f . . . co foruigenai dia Coimdid (.i. rofogain dia no ti*gern*a) it*ir* homoint (.i. mol*ad*) *ocus* abstanit (.i. tros[c]ad) 'geanas (.i. glaine) . . . . seirc nDe *ocus* comnesom (.i. sil Aidaim) [infra, p. 25].

Now when his thirty years were complete and he had reached his perfect age, he bethought him after that of going to Rome of Latium to learn knowledge and the order of preaching and teaching . . . , for it was not permitted to him to 'put hand upon him' (to receive the communion) without learning and without . . . . so that he served the Lord both in praise and abstinence chastely . . . love of God and (his) neighbours.

ISannsin taraill (.i. dochuaid) P*átraic* di*diu* co Martan iTorinis, *ocus* roberr berradh manaigh fair, arba berrad mogad (.i. ecosc ba fair riam cosin *ocus* rl. [infra, p. 25].

Then did Patrick proceed to Martin in Tours, and he tonsured a monk's tonsure upon him; for it was a slave's tonsure that he had always up to that time, &c.

INrí ródhasa di*diu*, Lóigaire m*acc* Neill rotecht (.i. rothsealb*a*) tinchitlidi (.i. faisdin ?) doaircaintis (.i. dotairgide idise) trenandrauide*cht* *ocus* t*re*nangentlecht an nobíth aircind (.i. fircinnte) doib [infra, p. 32, ll. 25–28].

[p. 522.] fogébad g*ra*dh *ocus* rairntin [leg. airmiti*n*] la firu Erenn *ocus* no lafed (.i. no cuire) na rige *ocus* na flatha asarígu *ocus* nocoscerad na huile arr[a]cht*a* na nidal nofeidligfed (.i. leanfaid) ambesena ticfed ann t*re* bithu b*e*tha isin hErinn.

H. 3. 18, p. 522. Ticfa tailcend (.i. Patraic) tar muir meircend (.i. tar muir mer)
a *bratt* tollcend, a crand cromcend (.i. abachall is í in[a]-laim)
a mias (.i. a altoir) iniarthar athig
f*ri*scert amuinter uile amen, amen.

Ticfat tailcind (.i. Pat*raic*) conucsat (.i. Baile Cuind dixit) ruama noitfit cella, ceoltige bendacha (.i. leo) benchopuir ili flaith imbachla [infra, p. 34, ll. 5–12].

IS annsin tainic Benen inamuinteras contuil iar*um* P*átraic* it*er* amuin, *ocus* anfogebed ingilla do scothaib (.i. bolamaraib) dob*ered* inulbroic inchleirich [infra, p. 36, ll. 1–3].

Taracht Pat*raic* coMaghinis coDicoin m*ac* T*ri*chim, *ocus* roan and fri ré ciana hic silad credme, cotuc Ultu huili tre line (.i. tersgelaib) intsosscelai dochum puirt bethadh [infra, p. 38, ll. 21–23].

Dorairngeart (.i. do geall) Mocai Noendroma mucberrtha ca*cha* blia*dna* doPat*raic* [infra, p. 40, ll. 9, 10].

Romidir (.i. romenamn*aig*) P*átraic* nadbai baili bad cuidhbiu do ardsoll*omun* nablia*dna* .i. in casc do ceilebra quam (.i. na) a Maigh Bergh (*sic*).

Tictís naríga *ocus* nafl*atha* *ocus* na hirig co Loegaire m*ac* Neill do Theamhra f*ri* ceilebrad inlithlaithi (.i. senam̃ *no* uasail *no* soll*omun*) hisin [infra, p. 40, ll. 23–25].

INfer da*no* adannai foruaisligfe (.i. tarcaisnigfe) riga *ocus* flaith*i* nahErenn main tairmidisether[1] imbi [infra, p. 42, ll. 13, 14].

Do deachaid (.i. tainic) Lochra coroisir *ocus* cohengach co cosnam (.i. tecmail) *ocus* cestaib f*ri* P*átraic*, *ocus* isannsin doraell forécnuch naT*ri*nóide *ocus* na hirsi (.i. incretmi) cath-l*aig*i [infra, p. 44, ll. 15–17].

Rofergaigestar inríg di*diu* f*ri* P*átraic* comor, *ocus* docuaid doraith leis amarb*ad* (.i. doraid dolathair amarbad), Iss*ed* ro-raidh*eth* Loeg*aire* ré amuintir: marb*aid* incleir*ech* [infra, p. 44, ll. 27–29].

Roerracht cach dia alailiu isindail coroibe cách díb inár acheile (.i. a nimrisin *no* in oirgebill *no* atecmail), cotorcair coica fear dib hisin coimeirghiu hisin lamall*achtain* Pat*raic* [infra, p. 46, ll. 8–10].

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[1] Over *mi* there is written *ad*.

Adubairt *Loegaire* fri *Pátraic*: "tair imdiaigsi, achleirig, do Temraig corocrediur duit arbelaib (.i. a fiadnaise) fer nErenn." *Ocus* rosuidighsom guleic (.i. cofaitech) etarnaig cachbelaig óFertaibh Fer Féich coTemraig archinn Patraic diamarbad, *acht* nircomarleice (.i. ni raentaig *no* nirlig). Dodechaid Pátraic ochtar macclcirech *ocus* Benen do gilla leo, *ocus* rosbennach Pátraic reduidecht. Dodeachaid (.i. tainic) dichealtair tairsiu conardraig fer diib. Adcondcadar immorro na gentligi [p. 523] batar isnahintledaib (.i. isnahindlib) ocht naighi alltaigi dotheacht seachum (.i. fonsliab) *ocus* iarndoe (.i. ag deiginach) inandeaghaigh *ocus* gaile foragualaind. Patraic aochtar *ocus* Benén inandegaigh, *ocus* a folaire (.i. ainm doteig líubair) foramuin [p. 46, ll. 21–33]. H. 3. 18, p. 522.

Dochuaidh iarsin Loegaire ondeidoil (.i. degail lai *ocus* aidchi) dochum Teamrach combron *ocus* comeabail cosnahuaitib noernatais leis [infra, p. 52, ll. 14, 15].

IN tan rombadur ocind fledhol *ocus* imradhugh in conflichta (.i. inimresin *no* incocaid) rofearsatar alla riam [infra, p. 52, ll. 18–20].

Dorat didiu intí Lucatmael luim (.i. bolgum) do neim isinnairdig (.i. ainm soithig) robói forlaim Pátraic conaccadh cidh dogenad Patraic fris. Rorathaidh (.i. romothaig) didiu Pátraic innísin, *ocus* robennachasidhe innairdig *ocus* rocoteag (.i. rodaingnig *no* roan) in linn, *ocus* roimpai inleastar iarsin *ocus* dorochair as inneimh dorat indrúi ind [infra, p. 54, ll. 6–11].

Thinnarscan iarsin innafilidechta druidecht *ocus* inna caladan demnaga corofearustair insneachta cotoracht fernu (.i. creasa) fear [infra, p. 54, l. 25, p. 56, ll. 1, 2].

Adubairt Patraic: "Atchiam annso. Cuir as ma conice." Adubairt indrúi nichuimgimsi innísin gusintra so amarrach. "Darmodebro (.i. dar mo dia bratha), olPátraic, isanulc atá dochumachta *ocus* ni [im]maith." [infra, p. 56, ll. 3–7].

Rofergaighestar inrí fri Pátraic comór dímarbad adruadh. Atraracht *ocus* dochuáid doraith (.i. dolathair) leis amarbad; *acht* nircomarleicestar (.i. nirlig) Día dó tre etarguidhe Pátraic. Dodeachaid (.i. tainic) iarsin ferg Dé forsinpopul n-écraibhech conerbailt (.i. testaig) sochaide mor dibh [infra, p. 58, ll. 26–31].

INderbhchlann immorro is dílis do Pátraic o comsuilidecht (.i. o comthoil) *ocus* o firis (.i. ócrethem[1]) *ocus* obatais (.i. oglaine) *ocus* o forcetul *ocus* inna huile docotaiset (.i. fuaradar

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[1] Sic, read óchretim.

H. 8. 18, p. 523. *no* doscalb*aigidur*) dotalmain *ocus* do ccailsibh rocdbairset (.i. rotidnaiciset) do *Pátraic* [infra, p. 68, ll. 9–12].

O rochomaigsegast*ar* etseacht (.i. bás) Lomain, rocscomlad (.i. rogluais) *ocus* adalta do agallaim abrathar .i. Brocada, *ocus* roaithne (.i. rotimain) accl*ais* do *Pátraic ocus* do F*or*tchernd . F*ri*thbruth (.i. rodiult) F*or*tchern coroairimed (.i. cumdach *no* coim*ét*) orbad aathar, *ocus* is cisidhe rocarb (.i. roaentaig *no* rofulair) do Dia *ocus* do *Pátraic*, acht adub*airt* Loman *no*chon-airimfe mob*endacht*ainsi mainairime (.i. mainditnig) abdaine mo ccailsi [infra, p. 68, ll. 14–21].

Dodeachaid *Pátraic* iarsin co *Con*all m*ac* Neill. Isann robói asosad (.i. a longp*ort*) du atá Domnach *Pátraic* indíu, *ocus* roet (.i. rofrithoil) é cofailti móir, *ocus* rombaisthi *Patraic*, *ocus* roson-airtnige (.i. roonoraig *no* robennaig) a rigsuide in eterni *ocus* adubairt *Pátraic* fris : "Fognigfe sil dobrathar dot sil tre bithu" [infra, p. 70, ll. 6-11].

Bói imairec ann illaithib Donnchaid . . . *ocus* Coibdenach af . . . alama díu lái [p. 524] *ocus* isb*ert* cumang nad chum-cabad brothar na brothraige dianguin nicoemnacair ingáe [infra, p. 70, ll. 31–72, ll. 1–5].

Ata coic noibh domuintir *Pátraic* anDelbnai Assail *ocus* coic miasa (.i. . . .) do *Pátraic* leo [infra, pp. 74–76].

Ambói *Pátraic* ocbaithis Luigne du ata indiu Domnach Mor Maige Echnach, asb*ert* fr*i* Cassan bed nann acseirgi *ocus* nat bad mor acongbail (.i. eclais) atal*main ocus* nibad imdai *ocus* rl. [infra, p. 76, ll. 8–11].

Folamust*ar* (.i. rosandtaig*estar*) *tra*th *Pátraic* congbal (.i. eclais) ocAth Maigne (in Assal. Fristudch)aid fris ann for ecennais . . . . [infra, p. 78, ll. 11, 12].

'Manibit ainmnit (.i. ciuin),' ol*Pátraic*, 'nutscailfeth . . . . . . (cum)achtæ Dé am*al* roscaill inbachall incloich.' Nifil scoth (.i. focul . . .) na (comarpa . . . . .) nad don *tris*t (.i. osnaig *no* mall*acht*) dob*er*t *Pátraic* fair [infra, p. 78, ll. 18–21].

Foracaib *Pátraic* reilgi (.i. taisi) sruthi iLecain Mide, *ocus* foirind dia muintir léu imCrummaine [infra, p. 82, ll. 5, 6].

Dob*er*tadar anteich conareilgib (.i. conataisib) isin cuas ind lim. Iadais imbi incúas coarabarach. Baitir toirsich de *ocus* adcuadetar (.i. doaisnedet*ar*) do*Pátraic*. 'Ata m*ac* bethoth (.i. cinpece*th*) doticfa,' ol*Pátraic*, 'ricfa a les innataisi sin .i. Ciaran m*ac* intsair' [infra, p. 84, ll. 17–21].

Oalailiu aimsir adchuas (.i. rosoillsiged no roaisneided) do Pátraic cin diescop Mel fria siair tre comrorcain (.i. tre scachran) in daescarluaig, arnobidis inoenteghais oc ernaigthe frisin Coimdidh [infra, p. 88, ll. 21-23]. H. 3. 18, p. 524.

INtan immorro rosen (.i. robeandaig) Pátraic caille (.i. bret dub) forsnahogaib remraitib (.i. roraidsimar romaind) rochotar aceithri cosa isincloich (ocus) feidligit (.i. leanait) innti afuillechta semper [infra, p. 89, ll. 13–16].

Dolotar de ingin Loigaire maic Neill comoch dontipraait do nigi alamh amal babeas doib .i. Eithne fhinn ocus Feideilm derec. conairnechtatar (.i. cofuaradar) senod innacleirech (.i. inrobfearr no robeolcadib) icontipráit conhetaigib gelaib ocus alibair arambelaib. Roingantaigset deilb innacleirech. Dorumenatar (.i. domeanmnaigatar) bedís fir sithi no fantaisi (.i. spírait). Imchomaircet scela do Pátraic cia can dúib ocus can dodechobair (.i. cahinad asatancabair), inn asithib, in dideib dúib? [infra, p. 98, l. 21, p. 100, l. 7].

Atbert ingina Laegaire fri Pátraic: "tabair dun insacarbaic cocoimsam intairgerthairig d'egad." Arroetatar (.i. rogab . . . .) iarsin sacarbaic ocus rocotailset ambas, ocus dosrat Pátraic fooinbrat inoinlepaid, ocus dorigensat acairait acoine comór [infra, p. 102, ll. 22-26].

p. 525.] Forothaig iarsin cill Attrachtae inGregraigi ocus ingin Talain innti, quae acepit caille (.i. bret dub) do laim Pátraic, ocus faraccaib teisc (.i. mias) ocus cailech lé [infra, p. 108, ll. 14–16].

Luidh intaingel coPatraic airm aroibe a Cruachan Aigle, ocus isbert fris: "Nitabair Día duit a connaigi, ol astrom leis ocus it móra na itgi. "Infair dofuit leis?" olPatraic. "Isfair," ol intaingel. "Is fair dano dofuit lemmsa," olPátraic, "níregsa isinchruachansa combamarb no condartaiter na huile itgi" [infra, p. 112, l. 28, p. 114, l. 2].

"Infail naill?" olPátraic. "Fail," ol intaingel, "fearr eachbrotairne (.i. cacha róinne) feil fortchassal (.i. ta for do brat) dobera a pianaib Día laithí bratha" [infra, p. 118, ll. 5–7].

Ata fer uadh anDrumnibh Breg. Atá fer aile iSleibh Slainge .i. Domangart mac Echach: ishe toigeba martra (.i. taisi) Pátraic gair ríambráth; ishí a cheall Raith Murbuilc hitoeb Sleibhe Slaingi, ocus biid lorag conatiumthuch ocus chilornd cormma arachiunn. arcach caisc [infra, p. 120, ll. 18–23].

H. 3. 18, p. 525. Fe*cht* ànn do aru P*átraic* testatar aeich airi. Nicoimnacair afagbail la doirchi nahaidchi. Tuarcaib P*átraic* a lamh suas [*ocus*] roinorcaidset (.i. rocomsoillsigset) a cuic m[e]oir in mag nuile am*al* be*t*is cóícsútralla *ocus* fófr*i*tha naheich foc*hé*-*t*oir [infra, p. 126, ll. 9–13].

Batar m*aic* Amalga*id* ocimchosnam (.i. acomtegmail) imonrige, cethir·chenel (.i. sencinela) fichet batar isintir. Roritbruithset (.i. rodiulset) congabtais f*or*ru f*er* cof*or*anmaim [infra, p. 126, ll. 19–22].

Teit *Con*all cuccai be*n*dachas do "Achleirich!" olsé, "infetarsu cedh belræ inso? Fil aforaithmiut (.i. a cuimniug*ud*) liumsa," *ocus* rl. [infra, p. 128, ll. 5–7].

Robendaigh P*átraic* insruth .i. Sligach *con*ái [leg. conidi] Sligach gamnach huisci na hEr*enn* osin ale, ar gaibt*er* iasc indi hicach raith*i* [infra, p. 142, ll. 6–8].

Callraigi Cuile Cernadan robadar hi magin deirrit archiund P*átraic*, *ocus* adcoimcaiset crannu f*ri* sciathu do fubtad (.i. dodiultad) P*átraic* *con*amuintir [infra, p. 142, ll. 15–17].

Taraill leiss (.i. dochuaid) is[n]aib glinnib dú ata indiu Cenel Muinremair [infra, p. 145, l. 26].

Gidnid (.i. Colum cille) macan diline
bud súi, bid faith, bidb fil[i],
inmain lesbaire glan gle,
nadepera imarbe (.i. breg).

Macan Eithne toebfotai
sech is bol is blathug*ud*,
Colum cillecan cen son,
niburom (.i. moch *nó* luath) a rathug*ud*.

[infra, p. 150, ll. 6–15.]

Robendach P*átraic* Dun Sobairge, *ocus* ata tipra P*atraic* ann *ocus* f*or*acaib breithir (.i.) fair [infra, p. 162, ll. 24, 25].

"Modebro" (.i. mo dia br*átha*), ol P*átraic*, "bid lan do rath Dé in gin fil (.i. ata) itbrusa [*ocus* bid mése] bennachfas caille f*or*cenn[1] [infra, p. 168, ll. 14–16].

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[1] At foot of this page are the following lines, in a large hand :—
Denuidh chain domhnuidh Dhe dil
fegaidh fógnum fritoil
Crist codhnuch rocinn cochert
indomnuch gantairmeacht.

Ho rodiusaigh *Pátraic* dochum *maicc* Crimhtain óbás *ocus* fororcongart *Pátraic* fair fiad in popul coroaisneid dophianaib nan ecráibdech *ocus* do [f]indfut (.i. doaibnius) nan oeb. Targaid *Pátraic* rogo do Eoch*aig* .i. x.u. bliadna in-ardrigu a thire dianairbired bit cocraibdhech *ocus* cofiren [infra, pp. 178, 180]. H. 3. 18, p. 526.

IS andsin roradi *Pátraic* fr*i*sin mnái fuine *ocus* isí octergorud a maicc:

A ben talaig do m*ac*can
dothait torc mór di orcán
di aibill tic breo
bid béo, bid slan do m*ac*can.

[infra, p. 186.]

'Cid airmertar (.i.) ráidt*er*) libh?' ol Fiacc. 'Dubthach do bachaill (.i. do berrad)' ol*Pátraic*. 'Bid ain[i]m ón éim do soch*aide*,' olFiacc [infra, p. 190, ll. 4, 5].

Dob*ert* da*no* *Pátraic* cumtach doFiacc .i. cloch, meinistir (.i. minna aistir), polaire, *ocus* f*or*accaibh mor*seisur* dia muinntir leiss [infra, p. 190, ll. 13–15].

Luidh iarsuidhiu for Bealach Gabhrad hi tir nOssraigi, *ocus* f*or*othaigh cella *ocus* congbala (.i. ccailsibh) and, *ocus* adrubairt nobethis ordnide (.i. uaisle *no* imad) laech *ocus* cleirech díbh, *ocus* ni biad furail (.i. imarcraid) na*ch* *cóic*id forru cein nobethis doreir *Pátraic*. Celebrais *Pátraic* doib iarsuidiu *ocus* f*or*aicabh martra (.i. taisi) sruithi occu, *ocus* fairenn di[a] muinntir dú itá Martartech indiu imMaig Roigne [infra, p. 194, ll. 8–14].

Patricius dixit:

Maiccne Nadfraich fuaim sonaid,
huadhib rígh, huadhib ruirig,
Oeng*us* a iathaib Femen
ocus ab*ra*thair Ailill,

ocus .xx.iiii. rig rofollnaisetar fo bachaill hiCaisil co ré Cinngegain de shil Ai*li*lla *ocus* Ænghusa [infra, p. 196, ll. 15–21].

Luid *Pátraic* isin tailchai fr*i*sind áth antuaith *ocus* dothiagar[2] uad do cuingid in fiachla, *ocus* doraithne (.i. dosoillsigh) focé*t*oir am*al* gré*i*n [infra, p. 196, ll. 25–27].

IS annsin tarraidh gal*ar* seitge (.i. ben) n-alachta (.i. torach) Aillilla como comochraibh bás dí. Rofiarfact *Pátraic* ced romb*ó*i. Respond[it] mulier: 'Lus adcondairc hisind áeur, *ocus* ni accai hital*main* aleitheid, *ocus* atbelsa *nó* abela in gin fil imbroinn, *nó* abelam diblinaib *mana* thoimliur in lus sin.

[1] MS. Horodiusaidh.

[2] MS. dothaigar.

H. 3. 18, p. 526. Roraidhi *Pátraic* fr*ie*: 'Cinn*us* ind lus?' 'Am*al* luachair,' ar inben. Bennachais *Pátraic* in luachair combó foltchep (.i. barr uindiun), Dusrumalt inben iarsuidiu *ocus* ba slan focét-oir [infra, p. 200, ll. 9–17].

Folam*us*t*ar* (.i. rosantaig*e*st*ar*) *Pátraic* feglegud (.i. anmain) hi toeb Chlaire oc Raith Coirp*ri* *ocus* Brocan, *ocus* ni reilg*eth* do. Et isb*er*t *Pátraic* co b*r*ath na biadh rig na escop do cheniul Colmain frisdudcaid (.i. rodiultt) do.

[p. 527.] Tarraid cleir aessa ceird iní *Pátraic* do cuinci bidh. Ni damad*ar* ercoimdcd (.i. diultad) [infra, pp. 202–204].

Luidh iar*um* hi Finnine f*ri* Domnach Mór aniartuaith f*ri* Luimnech intuaith co tarat b*en*dachtainn f*or* tuaith Mumain ara duthra*cht*aige dodhechatar conimuat a ngabála (.i. tinola) arcend *Pátraic* [infra, p. 206, ll. 5–8].

"INt-ailén glas thiar," ol *Pátraic*, "imbelaib in mara tincfaidh in caindel domuinntir Dé inn, bes cenn n-athcomairc (.i. fiarf*aig*e *nó* eolais) don tuaith si" .i. Senan Indsi Cathaigh dia sé .xx. blia*dan* osin [infra, p. 206, ll. 21–24].

Asb*er*t *Pátraic* fri Cerball[1]: Nibíadh rig na esc*o*p dot chiniul cob*r*ath, *ocus* bidh dilmain dof*e*raib Muman far lomr*ad* cach se*cht*mad blia*dain* dog*r*es amal folt cep [infra, p. 208, ll. 12–15].

Ni glethar dala laisna Deisi *acht* an-aidchi, ol f*or*acaib *Pátraic* breithir (.i. escaine) f*or*aib, ol is f*ri* haidhchi dodeichadar chuccæ [infra, p. 208, ll. 23–25].

Creidis Mechar cerp, ba[2] fer *con*dilc fír
dob*er*t *Pátraic* b*en*d*acht* mbuain, cetlad[3] do f*ri* rígh.
Frithmb*er*t[4] in fer ferccach Fuirgg, ciarbu riglach liath[5]
alad fadiud iar cach, bith amin[6] cobrath ní liach.[7]
Dungalach m*acc* Faelg*us*a uad Nadfraoich fír
is he cíata tairmdechaid cain *Pátraic* o prim.
[infra, p. 214, ll. 3, 4].

Otcondarcata[r] di*diu* indfirsi M*ac*cuill ina churach dofucsat do muir. Arroetaar (.i. rogabad*ar*) he cofailthi *ocus* rofoglainn .i. M*ac*cuill inbesenai ndíadha occo [infra, p. 222, ll. 18–22].

Carais ingin Daire indí Benen. Rubu binn lé a guth ocun urleigind. Dorala gal*ar* fuirri combu marbh dé. Bert Benen cretra dí ó *Pátraic* [infra, p. 232, ll. 1–3].

[1] Sic, leg. Derball.
[2] MS. cerpa.
[3] .i. cum *ad* (?).
[4] .i. indligtach.
[5] .i. seanoir.
[6] .i. b*eth* itruaighi *nó* imbochtaine.
[7] .i. ni doilig.

ISamlaid didiu doroimsi Pátraic infertai .i. secht fichit traiged isindlis ocus secht traiged fichit isin tigh moir ocus secht traiged .x. isin cuili ocus secht traiged isindaregal, ocus ba samlaid sin rofothaighedh somh na congbala dogrés [infra, p. 236, ll. 20–24]. H. 3. 18, p. 527.

IArsna mormirbailib se tra rochomfoicsechastar laithi citsechta Pátraic [p. 528] ocus a t[e]achta dochum nime. Issed dorinscan teacht do Ard Macha comad and nobeth a eiseirgi. Tainic Victor aingel adocum. ISed roraide fris: 'Nihand rorat .i. rodeonaigeth) duit heiseirgi. Eirgg forteulu don baile asa taina[c] .i. don tSaball, arisann atbela nísi Machai' [p. 2 52,ll. 3–9].

Tene toighleach congris gairt[h]i ocus tessaiged na mac [mbethad] im annud ocus im elscud deairceci. Colum ar cendsa ocus diudi (.i. glaine). Nathair ar trebaire ocus tuaithle (.i. glicus) fri maith [infra, p. 256, ll. 23–27].

IARcoscraidh idhal ocus arracht ocus ealadhan druidechtai rocomoesegestar uair eitsechta indí noeb Pátraic. Arroet (.i. rogab) corp Crist on epscop ó Thosach (sic) doréir comairle Vichtoir angel [infra, p. 258, ll. 9–12].

Cruimthir Mescan o Domnach Mescan oc Focain a cirpserc .i. a scoaire [infra, p. 264, ll. 26, 27].

Cruimtir Catan ocus cruimtir Ocan a da fos. rl. [pp. 264, l. 29].

Sguirim feasta do Bethad Pátraic, ocus labrum do Brudin annso sis.[1]

But the most important collection of fragments (generally abbreviated and sometimes corrupt) of the Tripartite Life is to be found in a homily in S. Patrick, discovered by the late Dr. J. H. Todd in a MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ancien Fonds, No. 8175, and now containing 117 leaves in small folio.[2] The homily begins imperfectly at fol. 74 a. 1, in a hand of (about) A.D. 1400; and the following account of it is made

[1] I unyoke hereafter from Patrick's Life, and let us speak of the (saga called) *Bruden* (*Da Derga*) here below.

[2] The MS. is described by Dr. Todd in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. III. (1846), pp. 223–228; and facsimiles of parts of it have been published by Champollion and Silvestre in the *Paléographie Universelle*.

from a photograph obtained through the kind intervention of Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville:

fol. 74, a. 1.—74 a. 2. An account of Patrick's doings at Tara, which corresponds pretty closely with the homily from the Lebar Brecc [printed infra, p. 456, l. 18; p. 464, l. 24]. Begins imperfectly: diaraile isindail cotorch*air* di*diu* .l. fer dib isin coimeirgi sin la mall*acht*ain Phat*raic*.

fol. 74 a. 2. Patrick's visits to Conall mac Néill [infra, p. 70], to Coirpre mac Néill [infra, p. 68], and to Uisnech [infra, p. 80, ll. 1–8].

His visit to Mag Slecht [infra, p. 90, ll.].

He passes by Snám dá Én to Mag Ai [infra, p. 92, ll. 16–32].

fol. 74, b. 1. He goes to Fid-arta [infra, p. 104, ll. 25–30].

He goes to Uarán Garad [infra, p. 106, ll. 7–22].

The Paris MS. here says that this place is also called Druim Ferta: that Oisin, son of Find, was baptised there, and that Patrick left there two of his household, viz., bishop Colmán and Temnen the Priest, a bell called the Wave-voice of the Tyrrhene Sea (*in tonngar mara Torrian*), and a pillow of stone.

fol. 74 b. 2. His dispute at Cruachan Aigle with the angel [infra, p. 112, l. 27; p. 12, l. 9].

fol. 75, a. 1. He visits Achad Fobair and ordains Bishop Senach [infra, p. 112, ll. 1–3].

He goes to Húi Amalgada [infra, p. 126, l. 14].

He goes to Cailli Fochlai[d] and baptises 12,000 [infra, p. 134, l. 30; p. 136, l. 1]. The Paris MS. here has: Luid iarsin do Chaillib Fochlai: *caillib*, therefore, not *caillid* is the true reading [infra, p. 136, l. 2; and in Fiacc's hymn, l. 16, *caille* must be the gen. pl.

His three visits and his gifts to the Connaughtmen [infra, p. 146, ll. 15, 19].

His visit to Ess-ruaid and speech to Coirpre mac Neill [infra, p. 146, ll. 20–27].

He blesses Conall and Fergus at Síd Aeda, and prophesies Colombcille [infra, p. 151]. The Paris MS. here has: Luid iarum co Síth nÓeda dú robennach Conall *ocus* Fergus a *mac*: the last four words are wanted infra, p. 150, l. 3.

He visits Tyrone and converts Eogan [infra p. 150, ll. 19, 23; p. 152, l. 5]. For the Latin words infra, p. 150, Irish are given: Luid iarsin P*átraic* i Tír-Eogain, *ocus* athb*ert* f*ria* muindtir: "Foimnig [leg. Foimnid] nachfortair in léo uathmur .i. Eogan [mac] Neill." IMatarraid doib frisint[s]et .i. Muiridach etc.

He goes to Ailech [infra, p. 152, l. 23].

fol. 75 a. 2. He blesses Eogan and his kindred [infra, p. 154, ll. 2–11].

He goes to Dál-Araide and Dál-Ríata [infra, p. 160, l. 16; p. 162, ll. 2, 3, 4]. 'Olcán' is in the Paris MS. called 'Olchon' and 'Airther Maige' is 'Airther Maigi Coba.'

He curses Eochu mac Muiredaig [infra, p. 224, ll. 6–25]. Of Domangort mac Echach the Paris MS. says: Isé forfacaib *Pátraic* inabethaid ic coimet Er*enn* (he it is whom Patrick left alive protecting Ireland).

He visits Húi Tuirtri [infra, p. 168, ll. 6, 7].

Three of the Húi Meith Tíre steal one of his goats [infra, p. 180, ll. 21–27].

His miracles in Fir Roiss [infra, p. 182, ll. 20–30; p. 184, l. 1]. The Paris account is here much abbreviated: Luid *Pátraic* co Firu Rois iarsin. ann rosoi i clocha na faiscre grotha cosind nem, *ocus* robaite isin áth uile láich romidatar orccoin *Pátraic*. (Then P. went to F. R. There he turned into stones the curd-cheeses with the poison, and in the ford were drowned all the warriors who intended to slay P.)

The story of Faillén of Naas [infra, p. 184, ll. 16–26; p. 186, ll. 1–4].

fol. 75, b. 1. The story of Dricriu and Cilline [infra, p. 186, ll. 5–19]. The first two lines of the verses are: A ben, taisig do m*a*cán! dothoet muc mór dond arcan, and the last two are: issé Ma[r]can m*ac* Cillín duine b*us* dec*h* d'ib Garrchon.

The journey into Mag Liphi [infra, p. 186, ll. 20–23], and the ordination of Fiacc [infra, pp. 188, 190], are summarised thus: Forfoth*aig* t*ra* cella *ocus* congbala imdai il-Laignib, *ocus* f*or*fác bennacht f*or*aib *ocus* for Uaib Ceindselaig inshaindr[i]ud, *ocus* f*or*facaib H*ú*saille i Cill Húsaille *ocus* Mac Tail hi Cuilind, *ocus* ro oirdnestar Fiacc Find i Sleibtib ind escobaide in *cói*eid. (So he founded abundant churches and monasteries in Leinster, and left a blessing upon them and on Húi Cennselaig especially, and he left Auxilius in Cell Ausailli and Mac Táil in Cuilenn, and ordained Fiacc the Fair in Sleibti as the bishop of the province.)

The story of Odrán's death. Here the Paris MS. agrees verbatim and almost literatim with the Bodleian Tripartite [infra, p. 206, ll. 27–30; p. 208, ll. 1–11].

Patrick's visit to Ossory [infra, p. 194, ll. 8–14].

His visit to Cashel [infra, p. 194, ll. 22–25; p. 196, ll. 1, 2.

fol. 75, b. 2. Here the Paris MS. adds: IS annsin, tra, tinnscana[d] baithis fer Muman, *con*id aire sin as*bert* *Pátraic*:

Muimnig dianomsáraiget[1]
im Chaisel cenn a[m]bathis
léo ar lár a tíre
beit[h] righi fo aithis.

[1] MS. dianonomsaraiget.

(There, then, is the beginning of the baptism of the Munstermen: wherefore Patrick said:—

If Munstermen outrage me
In my Cashel, the head of their baptism,
With them amidst their land
Kingship will be in disgrace.)

The story of the piercing of Oengus' foot [infra, p. 196, ll. 8–13]. The Paris MS. adds: acht oenfer namá (save one man only), which meets the case of Cenngecán. It then adds: Asbert *Patraic* co mbiad a rath i Caisil, ut quidam dixit:—

Eiscirgi *Pátraic* anDún
a ordan anArd Macha
hi telchan Chaisi[l] cheolaig
rodéonaig trian a ratha.

(Patrick said that his grace would be in Cashel, as some one said: "Patrick's resurrection in Downpatrick: his primacy in Armagh: on the hillock of musical Cashel he vouchsafed a third of his grace.")

Patrick's visit to Muscraide Breagain and the finding of his tooth [infra, p. 196, ll, 22–27; p. 198, ll. 1–4].

The story of Lonán's (not Lommán's) feast [infra, p. 202, ll. 20–24; p. 204, ll. 1–23]. For the Latin words in p. 202, ll. 2, 3, 4, the Paris MS. has: Asb*er*tad*ar* side nabdes do druithi dober*n*faitis tosach af leidi; for those in ll. 9, 10, it has: IS ann sin dodeachaid alaili mæthóclach, Nessan a ainm, *ocus* molt *ocus* tanag *ocus* tri faiscre grotha *for* a muin do *Pátraic*; and for the sentence Dorat . . . focétóir [p. 204, ll. 13–15], it has: *Con*ustuc *Pátraic* dona caintib. Ambátar iarum na cainte oc ithi muillt notasluicc in tal*am* focétoir na cainti, collatar i fudomnaib ifirn, *ocus* marait béos na faisc*ri* ia[r]nasood hi clocha.

fol. 76, a. 1. Patrick blesses Thomond [infra, p. 206, ll. 5–8].

His miraculous forming of Echu Redspot [infra, p. 206, ll. 9–15].

His prophecies of Senán of Inis Cathaig [infra, p. 206, ll. 17–25]; and of Brenainn mocu Alti [infra, p. 208, ll. 1–3].

He blesses Muinnech [infra, p. 210, ll. 8–14].

His seven years' stay in Munster [infra, p. 196, ll. 5–7].

He leaves Munster and goes to Brosnacha (in the Paris MS. called Heli) [infra, p. 214, ll. 13–21; p. 216, ll. 1–4, 9–27].

fol. 76, a. 2. He returns to Fir Roiss [infra, p. 226, ll. 1–5].

He goes to Ard Pátraic [infra, p. 226, ll. 9, 10].

His meetings with Mochtae [infra, p. 226, ll. 16–24].

The story of Dáire, his horses and his caldron [infra, p. 228, ll. 4–26; p. 230, ll. 1–18].

fol. 76 b., 1. How Patrick measured the Rath [infra, p. 236, ll. 14–16].

The elders who set forth Patrick's miracles [infra, p. 256, ll. 9–15].

Patrick's character [infra, p. 256, ll. 16–28; p 258, ll. 1–3].

The day of his death draws nigh [infra, p. 256, ll. 4–11].

He attempts to go to Armagh [infra, p. 252, ll. 3–11, 23–28].

fol. 76 b., 2. The angel prescribes the mode of Patrick's burial [infra, p. 252, ll. 23–28].

The angelic light at his obsequies [infra, p. 254, ll. 4–7].

The contest for his body [infra, p. 254, ll. 23–25; p. 256, ll. 5–7].

His death in Saball and burial in Dún.

Conclusion [infra, p. 260, ll. 15–28].

To complete this collection of relics of the Tripartite Life the following six extracts may be given from Michael O'Clery's Irish Glossary:—[1]

Dinnid no *for dinnid* .i. innisidh: fordinnid an boc dú aneass [infra p. 180, l. 25].

Glean .i. leanmhain: roghleansad a lamha don choire [cf. the Latin, infra p. 22, l. 21].

Noere .i. loingseóire no máirnealaigh: ro reac é frisna noere [cf. the Latin, infra p. 22, l. 17].

Orta .i. imthigh no eirigh: orta uaimsi, ar Patraig, go Láoghaire [cf. the Book of Lismore, 4 b. 1: Iarsin ispert Pátraic ria Dichoin: 'Eirg uaim,' ar se, 'co Laegaire mac Neill, co n-ebre mo aithiusc fris'].

Raith no *rath* .i. raithneach: ag losgadh na ratha [cf. infra p. 166, l. 17].

Smeach .i. smeice: imeal a sgiath fri a smeacha [cf. infra, p. 44, l. 5].

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[1] Louvain, 1643. Reprinted by Mr. Arthur W. K. Miller in the *Revue Celtique*, iv. 339–428, v. 1–65.

II. The probable date of the Tripartite Life.

As has happened with most of the extant compositions in Old and Middle Irish, an extravagant age has been claimed for the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick. Colgan, for instance (*Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 117, 169), attributes it to S. Evin, supposed to have flourished in the middle of the sixth century. His reason is that Jocelin, a monk of the close of the twelfth century, says that this Evin wrote the "Acta S. Patricii partim Latino, partim Hibernico sermone": the Tripartite Life is written partly in Latin, partly in Irish: therefore S. Evin was its author—a good specimen of an undistributed middle term.

Another argument which Colgan uses in support of the high antiquity of the Tripartite Life is that it mentions several ancient saints, ecclesiastics, and virgins as still existing. For instance, Sylvester and Solonius (p 30), bishop Loairn (p. 38, l. 27), bishop Erc (p. 44), bishop Fiacc (pp. 52, 192), Lonán, Do-Lue, and Lugaid (p. 76) Eiche and Lallóc (82), bishop Mane (pp. 94, 144), Conu Sáer (p. 110), Gemtene (p. 144), Bite (p. 148), Daniel (p. 164), Coirbre and Brucach (p. 166), the two Emers (p. 167), and Ercnat (p. 232). But in Irish hagiography "is" (*atá, fil*) in such a place means no more than that the relics of the holy one referred to are preserved in that place, or that his or her memory is there venerated. Thus the statement in p. 52 that Fiacc "is in Sleibte to-day," corresponds with the statement in the Book of Armagh (infra, p. 283), "cuius reliquiae adorantur *hi Sleibti.*"

Dr. Petrie, who was far more cautious and logical than Colgan, and who, moreover, was helped by a native scholar (Dr. O'Donovan), more learned even than the learned Franciscan, in his essay on the *History and*

Antiquities of Tara Hill (p. 31), calls the Tripartite Life "a compilation of the ninth or tenth century," and Dr. Todd (*S. Patrick*, p. 124, note 3) follows Dr. Petrie. I hope now to show that the Tripartite Life could not have been written before the middle of the tenth century, and that it was probably compiled in the eleventh.

The arguments on this subject are of two kinds, one historical, the other linguistic.

The historical reason which renders it impossible to attribute a high antiquity to the Tripartite Life is the fact that it contains the following allusions to persons who lived and events which happened in the eighth, the ninth, or the tenth century, and that there is no ground for supposing that these allusions are interpolated. **The historical argument.**

Cíarán of Belach Duin is said (infra, p. 60) to have written an account of S. Patrick's miracles. This Cíarán died A.D. 770.

Echaid, son of Bresal, is referred to (infra, p. 166) as having burnt a monastery. He flourished about A.D. 800 (Reeves' *Eccl. Antiqq.*, 245).

Núada, abbot of Armagh, is said (p. 82) to have released a certain servitude. This Núada is again mentioned in p. 144, where he is called Nóda of Loch Uama. He flourished A.D. 810 (Reeves, *Primate Colton's Visitation*, v.), and died, according to the Four Masters (ed. O'Donovan), A.D. 811, recte 816.

Connacán, son of Colmán, and grandson of Níall Frossach, is mentioned infra, p. 173. This Connacán was killed in Ulster A.D. 853.

The taking of Inis Becc by the heathen is mentioned infra, p. 192. This event occurred A.D. 819.

The "reign of Fedelmid and Conchobar in Tara" is mentioned in p. 195. This Fedelmid died A.D. 847, and Conchobar A.D. 833 (O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, i. 446).

The angel's promise (p. 116) that Saxons shall not dwell in Ireland, points to a date after A.D. 871, when

a host of Saxons and Britons was brought by Ólaf and Imar to Dublin.

Cenngecán, king and bishop of Cashel, is mentioned in p. 196. He was slain A.D. 897

The Iosep, mentioned in p. 266, can only be the Ioseph, one of S. Patrick's successors in the see of Armagh, "scribe, bishop, anchorite, the wisest of the Irish,"[1] who died A.D. 936.

To these evidences of a comparatively late origin we may perhaps add the mention of Commán mac Algasaich, who is said (p. 156) to have recently ('nuper') built a house at Ess mac nEirc, and the description (p. 234, ll. 6, 7) of the diocesan jurisdiction of Armagh. But I have been unable to ascertain when this Commán died, or when this jurisdiction was established.[2]

The linguistic argument.

I shall now mention some of the grammatical forms which tend to show that the Tripartite Life was compiled in the eleventh century, when the Old-Irish language was becoming what is called Early Middle-Irish. Mere corrupt spellings (such as final *e* for *i*, *i* for *e* or for *iu*, *iu* for *e*, aspirated *m* for *b*, or aspirated *g* for *d*) are here passed over, for these may be due to the Middle-Irish transcribers of the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. For convenience of reference I shall follow the order of the *Grammatica Celtica*.

1. The Genders.

The genders.

Traces of the neuter are still visible, as in the transported *n* of *al-lá m-beite* 118, 17, *al-leth n-úr*, 58, 22 : *dún n-óacfene*, 206, 3: *síl n-Eogain*, 154, 12: *grad n-oenfir*, 152, 22. *laithi n-airechda*, 52, 18, *tech n-óenfir* 198, 15, *tech n-óiged*, 124, 20, *ed mbecc*, 144, 28: *fert mbec*, 138, 20, *Domnach n-Aisse*, 250, 9, and (as we shall see) in the sg. nom. and acc. of the article. But many nouns, neuter

[1] The Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 936.

[2] It seems to have been claimed in the eighth century, when the Liber Angueli was probably written, see infra, p. 352, ll. 28–33.

in Old-Irish, have become masc. or fem. Thus: *in t-ainm*, 32, 3: *in mag*, 54, 22: *in tech*, 58, 18: *in forcetal*, 66, 22, *ind ruithen*, 6, 27, *in slíab*, 114, 10: and the accusatives *inn-im*, 14, 31: *in dún*, 152, 24: *immon sliab*, 118, 19: *in tír*, 210, 6: *in mag*, 92, 29: *isind leth*, 58, 17, *crandu*, 142, 16, which would have been, in Old-Irish, *an-ainm*, *a tech*, *a forcetal*, *a ruithen*, *a sliab*, *an-imm*, *am-mag*, *issa-leth*, and *crann*. The adjective in the phrase *for grúaid ndeiss*, 58, 9, shows that the neut. *s*-stem *gruad* has become feminine.

2. The Article.

Sg. nom. acc. The Old-Irish neuter article *an* is still found in *al-leth*, 58, 22, 24, 142, 28, *al-la-sin*, 128, 22, where the *n* is assimilated: *a lin*, 114, 21, *a mag*, 56, 7: *am-muir*, 82, 17: *forsa-muir*, 114, 24: *a tech*, 58, 6, *a tech n-óiged*, 124, 19: *a cumtach*, 192, 26. In *istír*, 106, 19: *hisa tír*, 174, 13, we have a Middle-Irish contraction. So in *istech*, 178, 22. The article.

gen. The fuller form of the fem. occurs. Thus: *inna fetarlicce*, 2, 7: *inna náiden*, 8, 15, *inna hÉirend*, 30, 26: *inna saebfáthsine*, 22, 39. But the shorter forms *ina*, *na* are more frequent: *ina ingini*, 28, 20: *na dáire* 14, 15: *na toile*, 6, 3: *na fírinne*, 6, 22: *na cruiche* 8, 16: *na baisti* 8, 22.

Pl. nom. Here we still have *ind* for the masc. thus: *ind éolaig*, 8, 26; 92, 19; 196, 6: *ind íascairi*, 146, 12; 210, 2: *ind aingil*, 168, 19: *ind óedaim*, 252, 27: *ind (f)ascri*, 184, 2: *ind eich*, 228, 16, and before a tenuis: *in cruitiri* 142, 12. Side by side with this we have the Middle and Modern usurpation by the fem. article: *inna huli*, 56, 15: *inna huile Érennaig*, 28, 7: *inna sluaig*, 54, 18: *na sluaig*, 56, 11; 256, 4: *na gobaind*, 250, 24: *na daim*, 254, 1: *na maicc*, 146, 9: *na tri macaim*, 58, 3: *na tri caiptil*, 246, 8: *na gentlidi*, 46, 29: *na heich*, 126, 13.

gen. Here too we have the fuller form *inna -n*: thus: *inna n-ingen*, 104, 10: *inna Rómanach*, 32, 7: *inna clérech*, 100, 2. But the shorter forms are more frequent, e.g., *na n-apstal*, 6, 8: *na n-gente*, 6, 22: *na m-briathar*, 4, 1: *na cristaide*, 8, 2.

dat. The Old-Irish labial ending is frequent: *donaib ingenaib*, 102, 28: *donaib maccaib*, 246, 25: *donaib slógaib ocus donaib sochaidib*, 198, 22: *donaib druthaib*, 204, 14: *dinaib fascrib*, 248, 13: *isnaib glennaib*, 96, 17: *is[n]aib glinnib*, 144, 26: *isnaib talmandaib*, 170, 17: *ósnaib gáithaib*, 130, 21. But it is oftener dropt: e.g., *dona ruithnib*, 6, 26: *dona talmannaib 7 dona halachtaib*, 86, 14: *dona drúidib*, 92, 30: *dona airchinnchib*, 250, 8 (Eg.): *dona sruithib*, 254, 18; *dona noebaib*, 172, 30, *dina líusaib*, 144, 23:

forsna cellaib, 80, 25: *forsna ógaib*, 90, 14: *isna intledaib*, 46, 30: *isna haidchib*, 254, 19: *ocna cáirib*, 12, 15: *fona tonnaib*, 224, 12: *cosna huaitib*, 52, 15: *iarsna mórmirbailib*, 252, 3; 258, 4.

acc. Here the fuller form *inna* occurs: *inna briathra*, 2, 10. But we have also the shorter: *na bú*, 12, 29.

Dual. Except in one instance (*in dí cloich*, 248, 12) the Old-Irish form has disappeared, and we have in the nom. *na dá ríg-suide déc*, 118, 17, and the acc. *inna dí arracht déac*, 92, 1: *na dí Eimir*, 90, 10; 168, 3: *na dá apstal déac*, 120, 2.

2. The Noun.

Vocalic declension. The vocalic declension is on the whole well preserved. Thus, for the dat. sg. of stems in *o* consider *dia claum*, 84, 3: *o Chaisiul*, 146, 4, *for euch*, 124, 15; *bulcc*, 240, 18; *don-tsinnsiur*, 128, 27; *in inbiur*, 136, 26; and so also *brut*, 92, 8: *coiniul*, 100, 8: *ceniul*, 110, 26: *fiur*, 178, 4: *forcetul*, 68, 11: *inut*, 92, 12, 110, 19: *luc*, 110, 11: *lucc*, 156, 2, 174, 7: *Luimniuch*, 88, 4: *méur*, 106, 4: *muiliund*, 72, 18: *praiceupt*, 34, 20: *legund*, 76, 17. For the dat. sg. of stems in *io*: *ósind usciu*, 72, 18; *forsind usciu*, 138, 19; *dond huisciu*, 142, 28; *isind laithiu*, 52, 16; *isind láu*, 88, 11; *on láu*, 200, 7; *fom suidiu*, 74, 17; *isin bailiu*, 36, 14; *don coinliniu*, 84, 8; *ic cluichiu*, 11, 24. For the acc. pl. of masc. *o*- stems: *portu*, 84, 23; *firu*, 182, 20; *echu*, 42, 26; 144, 10 (Eg.) = *eochu*, 230, 2, 4; *euchu*, 186, 27; *claidbiu*, 110, 2; *maccu*, 196, 1; *sairu*, 218, 13: *cléirchiu*, 36, 19; 66, 25; *cairpthiu*, 42, 26; 44, 2; 46, 7; *smechu*, 44, 5: for the acc. pl. of masc. *io*- stems: *auu*, 94, 13 = *áu*, 134, 30; *huu*, 104, 27; *frisna híascairiu*, 142, 1; for the neut. pl. of *o*- stems: *cenela*, 170, 4; *echtarchenéla*, 170, 4. But *pecad*, an *u*-stem in Old-Irish, makes its gen. sg. *pecaid*, 4, 43 (i.e., as if it were an *o*- stem), and *rún*, a fem. *ā*- stem in Old-Irish, makes its acc. pl. *rúine*, 2, 18, as if it were a neut. stem in *s*.

Consonantal declension. The consonantal declension is also generally well preserved. But the *c*- stem *aire*, though its nom. pl. is *airig* in 40. 24, makes it *airecha* in 32, 19: the *g*-stem *rí*, though its acc. pl. is rightly *ríga* in 42, 14, makes it *rígu*, 32, 34: 152, 24; *ard-rígu*, 94, 27, and has in the nom. pl. *rígha*, 40, 23, for the Old-Irish *ríg*. As to the *r*-stems, *bráthir* makes its gen. pl. *bráthar*, 16, 8 (Old-Irish *bráthre-n*), and its acc. pl. *bráithriu*, 72, 8; 188, 8 (Old-Irish *bráithrea*); *siur* makes its nom. pl. *sethra*, 82, 12, (Old-Irish *sethair*), acc. pl. *sethracha*, 90, 10 (Old-Irish *sethra*), and *máthir* in the gen. pl. passes over to the *c*-declension: *máthrech*, 12, 5. Stems in *nt* make the acc. pl. in *-iu*: *inna náimtiu*, 130, 15 (Old-Irish *náimtea*). Stems in *men* correctly make the

dat. sg. in *m* (*dírmmaim*, 70, 29), and the nom. acc. pl. in *nn*: thus, *anmann*, 146, 23, *foranmand* (leg. *-ann*), 126, 22. But we have also the Middle-Irish pl. acc. *anmanna*, 106, 26.[1] The *s*- stem *dún* makes its dat. sg. *dún*, 12, 85, 128, 5, for the Old-Irish *dúin*; *glenn* rightly makes its dat. pl. *glinnib*, 148, 26, but also *glennaib*, 96, 17, and its acc. pl. *glenna*, 216, 22, which in Old-Irish would be *glinne*. The *s*- stems *ag*, *dún*, *glún* and *sliab* respectively make their acc. pl. *aige*, 46, 30; *dúine*, 150, 15: *gluine*, 92, 29: *glúne*, 120, 6: *sléibe*, 112, 17. This accords with the Old-Irish paradigm.

3. The Adjective.

Here in the nom. pl. we find the Middle and Modern usurpation by a form properly belonging to the fem. gender. Thus: *fir duba*, 116, 1; *daim duba*, 176, 16; *daim breca*, 176. 15; *na maic becca*, 146, 9; *in maicc becca* , 186, 26; *tri druid nemdenmacha*, 138, 27. In the dative, however, of stems in *o* and *io* the Old-Irish forms are well preserved: *dom macaib-se creitmechaib*, 70, 13; *co mbuidnib móraib*, 88, 12; *isnaib g[l]ennaib sleibidib*, 96, 17; *co n-étaigib gelaib*, 100, 3; *di énlaithib dubaib*, 114. 10; *isnaib randaib deiscertchaib*, 158, 13; *donaib maccaib becaib*, 246, 25 *co cétlaib spírtaltaib*, 254, 16. And so with the participle pret. passive: *forsna ógaib remráitib*, 90, 14. In *taircetlaib failsi*, 4, 1, the *b* is dropt. In the dat. sg. we have still the Old-Irish *u* in *biucc*, 163, 2; 168, 12; *cliu*, 90, 26, and *sochineluch*, 176, 29. The *i*- stem *allaid* makes its gen. sg. masc. *alta* in *mac in chon alta*, 158, 7; and its acc. pl. *alltaige* in *aige alltaige*, 46, 30: but this is doubtless a scribal error for *alltai*. Declension.

As to gradation, except *airther*, *oirther* (anterior), gen. sg. *oirthir*, 76, 26; gen. pl. *Airther*, 230, 21, no comparatives in *-thir* occur. The comparative in *-iu*, *-u* is frequent: *toisigu*, 10, 16; *déniu*, 10, 31; *córu*, 16, 29: 240, 24; *lobru*, 28, 20; *cuibdiu*, 40, 13; *siniu*, 100, 9; *laigiu*, 192, 21; *uaisliu*, 260, 24. When followed by *de* (see G.C. 275), the *de* is written as an enclitic (*soimmbertu-de*, 218, 21, Eg.), and sometimes becomes *ti*. Thus: *andsa-ti*, 218, 20; *mai-ti*, 114, 22; *mesai-ti*, 218, 9. Six superlatives in *m* occur: *cáinem*, 146, 11; *óam*, 128, 25; *sinem*, 128, 25; *sírem*, 86, 30 (compar. *sía*, 176, 11); *sonairtem*, 94, 26; and *tressam*, 94, 26. But the comparative is used for the superlative (Middle-Irish fashion) in *diliu lat*, 152, 16; *orddnidiu*, 194, 10; *húallchu di clainn*, 126, 23. Gradation.

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[1] *anmand* (souls) occurs 84, 26; pl. dat. *anmannaib*, 114, 21.

4. Numerals.

The numerals 2, 3, 4.

2. Here we have still the feminine *dí*: nom. *di fieir*, 16, 14; *di sróin*, 144, 27; *di óig*, 224, 44; *di laidir*, 44, 5; *di ingin*, 128, 9; *di láim*, 152, 8; *di cloich*, 248, 12; acc. *dí ingin*, 184, 19. We have the *b* of the dative: *ar díb fichtib*, 260, 8; also the transported *n* of the dative: *dib mbuidnib*, 130, 12. In *dé feraib deac*, 30, 13, the *dé* seems a scribal error for *dib*.

3. Here also the fem. form is preserved: nom. *teora gemai*, 58, 13; *teor buidne*, 72, 1; *teora aidchi*, 176, 10; *téora mili*, 116, 3; *téora maila*, 166, 4; *teóra muntera*, 118, 19; *a theóra druinecha*, 266, 8; acc. *teora gema*, 58, 12. But its place is usurped by the masc. *tri* in *tri aidchi*, 30, 1; *tri clochai*, 106, 29; *trí line*, 246, 8; *tri ecailsi*, 30, 19; gen. *tri n-oidchi*, 92, 28. The dat. neut. is still *trib* in *ó trib laithib*, 64, 22; *ar trib cétaib*, 238, 16; but the labial is lost in *hi tri clochaib*, 106, 27; *ar tri fichtib*, 238, 16.

4. The neuter *cethir* occurs in *ceithir anmand*, 16, 21, and *cethir chenél*, 126, 20. The fem. form occurs in *fo cethoira*[1] *arda*, 56, 8, where the Egerton MSS. has the shorter form *cetheor*. *Cethri*, *ceithri* occurs with all genders and cases. nom. *ceitri cossa*, 90, 15; *ceithri ardda*, 86, 7; *ceitri cailig*, 94, 5; *ceithri srotha*, 118, 11; dat. *for a cheithri uillib*, 94, 5.

5. Pronouns.

Infixed pronouns.

The system of pronominal infixation is still in full vigour. For example:—

sg. 1. *nim-tairle*, 78, 22; *conomm-adnaiss*, 84, 12; *rom-gab*, 114, 28; *ro-m-char*, 106, 12; *no-m-léicc-si*, 218, 4; *rom-gón*, 122, 26; *ni-r-im-adnaigid*, 178, 17; *do-m-rosat*, 140, 25; *ni-m-reilci*, 140, 26. So in the passive: *rom-chráided con-dom-digdider*, 116, 14; *nacha-m-gaibther-sea*, 190, 6; *co ro-m adnaicthi*, 74, 8; *ro-m-adnacht*, 124, 24, 26; *cu ro-m-sœrthar*, 180, 10.

sg. 2. *nu-t-scailfeth*, 78, 19; *ru-t-bia*, 152, 4; *ro-t-bia*, 114, 24; 116, 8; *ni-t-aidlibe*, 78, 23; *nocho-t-acca*, 140, 14; *do-t-uc*, 174, 8; *fo-t-uigeb-sa*, 176, 3; *attot-chomnaicc*, 28, 8. So in the passive, *nu-t-gebthar*, 190, 6.

[1] Compare *cetheoira*, Ml. 118[d] 10.

Infixed pronouns.

sg. 3. masc. and neut. :—

a. d-a-farraid, 30, 23.

d. no-d-baithis, 192, 5; *for-d-indel*, 183, 25; *do-d-fuil*, 204, 7 (Eg.); *atnói* (= *ad-d-nói*), 140, 3.

id. con-id-loisc, 31, 8; *con-idh-romarb*, 60, 20 = *con-id-romarb*, 88, 13; *con-id-fuaratar*, 222, 7; *ad-id-annai*, 42, 21; *ar-id-feimfed*, 32, 33.

n. ro-n-indarb, 30, 18; 92, 3; *ro-n-gab*, 36, 22; 60, 3; 192, 13; *ní-n-tairmescfed*, 42, 6; *do-n-árraid*, 76, 13; *do-n-anaicc*, 136, 5; *don-ánic*, 138, 21; *ro-m-baitsi*, 86, 18; *ru-m-baithess*, 160, 8 = *ro-m-bathess*, 168, 13; *ro-m-baithes*, 182, 5; *ro-m-baitsestar*, 36, 23; *ro-m-bennach*, 164, 9, 218, 10 = *ro-m-bendach*, 174, 17; *do-m-bér-sa*, 104, 2; *ro-m-berr*, 104, 5; *cita-n-accigi*, 130, 8; *ro-n-adnacht*, 182, 6; *ro-n-orddnea*, 196, 14.

dn. ro-dn-gab, 198, 14.

s. du-s-fell, 180, 24; *do-s-rala*, 84, 24; *immu-s-aiccichet*, 158, 11; *du-s-romalt*, 200, 16.

sn. du-sn-arrith, 82, 18.

fem. *da. no-da-sáraigfed*, 72, 25; *ro-do-sáraig*, 72, 26; *du-da-slugai*, 74, 21; *con-da-forslaic*, 82, 1; *con-ta-tarligg*, 234, 17.

s. fo-s-recat, 82, 21; *do-s-uc*, 86, 22; *cono-s-tuicce*, 28, 6; *ro-s-baitsi*, 178, 3; *ro-s-baithis*, 224, 22; *ro-s-aithni*, 187, 12.

sn. do-sm-bert, 212, 25.

dos. for-dos-rala, 76, 19; 78, 5; 96, 25.

pl. 1. *ro-n-scar*, 140, 18.

pl. 2. *nachaib- thair*, 150, 23.

pl. 3. a. *d-a-loig*, 200, 3; *t-a-bair*, 120, 23; perhaps *imm-a-tarraid*, 150, 24.

da. con-da-scríb, 64, 12; *con-da-rochaill*, 214, 2; *con-da-scara*, 212, 27; *con-da-fil*, 202, 5.

s. ro-s-baitsi, 140, 2; *ro-s-baithess*, 174, 19; *nu-s-beir*, 194, 26; *no-s-berat*, 240, 5; *ro-s-bendach*, 46, 27; *fo-s-fuair*, 36, 15; *ro-s-gab*, 236, 2; *ro-s-mallach*, 108, 24; *ro-s-cuimrig*, 224, 12; *ro-s-cuinnig*, 164, 19; *ro-s-ét*, 164, 20; *do-s-bér*, 164, 24.

dus: nu-dus-foilnaibed, 188, 22; *rodo[s]sluicc*, 204, 14.

sn. do-ssn-ailgi, 152, 8; *ro-sn-edbair*, 184, 20.

Suffixed pronouns. Pronouns are found suffixed to verbs in *gaibs-i*, 246, 11; *sloics-i*, 130, 19; *airichth-i*, 158, 5, where the suffix is in the accusative, and in *mani ba-t*, 78, 19; *beit-i*, 112, 22; *bet-i*, 152, 27; *biei-s*, 224, 24, where it is in the nominative. It seems probable that the endings in the following forms are suffixed pronouns in the nom. sg.: *arbertai*, 162, 27; 164, 1; *adannai*, 42, 13; *ad-id-annai*, 42, 21; *ro-celebrai*, 198, 4; *rus-cummai*, 256, 11; *ro-diultai*, 176, 24; *ro-obai*, 54, 2 = *ro-obbai*, 80, 9, *ro-opai*, 146, 27; *ro-pritchai*, 40, 4; *ro-sercai*, 176, 21; *ro-thinai*, 56, 8; *ro-baitsi*, 30, 18; 78, 6; *ro-m-baitsi*, 40, 5; 70, 8; (*do*) *ro-creiti*, 60, 17; *do-r-aitne*, 56, 15 = *do-r-atne*, 196, 27; *do-roi-msi*, 236, 20; *fo-rui-smi*, 44, 9; 136, 6; *ro-ortne*, 94, 2 = *ro-oirdni*, 158, 24; *ro-rádi*, 124, 18 = *ro-ráidi*, 56, 18; 88, 27; 240, 23; *ro-raidi*, 64, 7; *ro-ráide*, 2, 10; 10, 15, 27; 60, 19; *ro-ráde*, 44, 19; *ro-radæ*, 44, 28. In *beitit*, 110, 25; 120, 17, the *-it* may be a suffixed pronoun meaning 'ii,' and in *aracuiliu*, 50, 27, the *-iu* (*-u*?) may be one, meaning 'eos.'

6. The Verbal Particles.

Verbal particles. In compound verbs *ro* is generally infixed after (as a rule) the first element. Thus: *do-r-infith*, 2, 7; *do-ro-thlaig*, 10, 8; *do-ro-thlaigsetar*, 30, 6; *do-r-ala*, 10, 10; *do-r-eprendset*, 10, 20; 72, 27; *do-r-ciprensat*, 144, 27; *fo-r-ácaib*, 28, 29; *to-r-inol*, 10, 26; *do-ro-chair*, 12, 7; 46, 6; *to-r-chair*, 46, 9; *at-r-a-racht*, 14, 9; *ad-ru-pairt*, 14, 8, 12; *do-ri-gni*, 14, 30; *fo-rui-genai*, 16, 20; *fris-ro-grat*, 28, 18; *do-r-airgert*, 40, 9 = *do-r-argert*, 160, 10; *do-r-airngert*, 148, 26 = *do-r-airggert*, 178, 8; *do-a-airng*[*r*]*ed*, 34, 15; *-de-r-nsam*, 28, 23; *-fa-r-caib*, 30, 20; *fo-r-acabsat*, 40, 19; *fo-rui-smi*, 44, 9; *do-r-éll*, 44, 16; *do-r-iucart*, 44, 18; *-to-r-molath*, 54, 2; *do-r-aitne*, 56, 15; *do-ro-raind*, 70, 17; *fu-ro-xail*, 81, 21; *do-ro-grad*, 88, 7; 222, 27; *do-ro-diusaig*, 128, 21 = *do-roi-diusaig*, 176, 17; *friss-ro-gart*, 124, 23; *ad-ro-damair*, 148, 5; *do-ro-chaise*, 150, 3; *du-s-ro-malt*, 200, 16; *do-r-esart*, 204, 21; *ad-ro-chabair*, 202, 1; *do-ro-chaiul*, 222, 21; *-to-r-inscan*, 226, 1; *a*[*r*]*-ro-gart*, 228, 22.

But in the following instances it is prefixed in the Middle-Irish fashion: *ro-indis*, 2, 14, 18; *ro-croslaicti*, 8, 10; *ro-erlég*, 8, 19 = *ro-herlég*, 30, 26; *ro-do-gailsigestar*, 12, 10; *ro-taiselbath*, 16, 1; *ro-foglaind*, 28, 2 = *ro-foglainn*, 222, 20; *ro-fiarfaig*, 44, 14; *ro-frithbruid*, 68, 17; *ro-rithbruithset*, 126, 21; *ro-édbairt*, 36, 34; *ro-edbair*, 80, 10, pl. *ro-edbratar*, 224, 11; *ro-edbairset*, 68, 12; *ro-edbarthe*, 68, 27; *ro-ocobair*, 68, 32; *ro-indarb*, 88, 2; *ro-imgaib*, 184, 24.

In *ad-u-bairt*, 42, 9; 54, 20, 21; pl. *ad-u-brutar*, 36, 4; perhaps in *ath-o-perainn-si*, 162, 10, the *r* is dropt. Verbal particles.

But perhaps what points most clearly to the Middle-Irish period is the constant occurrence, in the case of the preterites of verbs beginning with *fa-*, *fo-*, *for-*, *fu-*, of a prefix *for*, which, Prof. Windisch thinks, is due to a misunderstanding of Old-Irish forms like *forácaib* = *fo-r-ácaib*. Examples of this are:—

fororbai, 34, 17; 170, 9; 178, 18; *fororbaide*, 104, 7, for *for-forbai*, *for-forbaide*, from *forbenim*.

forfoillsig, 46, 21, from *foillsigim*.

fororconggart, 66, 17; *fororcongart*, 198, 11, 18; 228, 19; 230, 2, for *for-forcongart*, from *forcongraim*.

forfothaigestar, 174, 2 = *forothaigestar*, 194, 4; *forothaig*, 72, 7; 92, 12; 98, 2; 194, 9, from *fothaigim*.

forúaslaic, 32, 4, for *for-fuaslaic*, from *fúaslaicim*.

foruasnad, 42, 15, for *for-fuasnad*, from *fúasnaim*.[1]

So in the Félire of Oengus, prol. 87, *forforcennta*, from *forcennim*; *fororbairt*, prol. 170, from *forberim*; and even in the Milan Codex: *ho burorbaither*, 15a, from *forbenim*, and *foruraithminset*, 135a, from *foraithminiur*.

7. The Verb.

In the Tripartite Life the Old-Irish forms of the verb are fairly well preserved, and there is a complete absence of forms, such as the consuetudinal present (in *-ann*, *-enn*) and the pass. pret. pl. 3 in *-ait*, *-it*, which are first found in Middle Irish. In compound verbs the distinction in the prepositional prefixes is generally well marked between the dependent forms (where the stress is on the first element) and the independent forms, where the stress is on the second element; and in all verbs, whether simple or compound, the endings proper to the absolute form are, as a rule, distinguished from those proper to the subjoined form. Verbal forms.

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[1] The Middle-Irish preterites *forócrad* from *fuacraim*, and *forópair* from *fuapraim*, may be explained in like manner.

List of compound verbs.

In the following list of some of the compound verbs in the Tripartite Life, the prepositional prefixes are given in their stressed forms; and the independent verbs are placed on the left, the dependent on the right, together with imperatives and verbal nouns and adjectives, which are always accented on the first or only syllable. The apex (′) is used in this list to signify the stress, not (as usual in Irish) the length of the vowel over which it is placed.

ad (*at*).

ad-cíu (*I see*), ad-cíam, 41; 11; at-chíam, 56, 3; at-cíat, 160, 20; at-chéthe-su, 28, 28.	con-áccath, 54, 8; con-áicced, 124, 14; con-áccomar, 102, 12; nochot-ácca, 140, 14; asan-acai, 130, 15; ni ácca-si, 128, 23; a n-áccigеd, 130, 17; cita-n-áccigi, 130, 18.
ad-cláidim (*I catch*), ad-cláiss, 88, 28.	verbal noun áclaid, 85, 25.
ad-cóbraim (*I desire*), 102, 8; ad-có-brai, 228, 9; ad-ró-chobair, 202, 1.	ro-ócobair, 68, 32; nocon-óccobhrad, 12, 21.
at-cótaisiut (*they got*), 68, 11.	
ad-gládur (*appello*), Sg. 146 b, 9.	ros-ágaill (-ácill), 114, 6; verbal noun áccaldam, 66, 27.
admidiur (*I attempt*); admídethar, Stowe Missal.	verbal noun ámmus, 198, 17, 220, 21.
adrímiu (*I reckon*); ad-rímfinn, 180, 9.	ní áirmiu, Broc. h. 41.
ad-slíg (*persuadet*), Wb. 14 d, 27.	ros-áslacht, 236, 4.
ad-nácim (*I bury*).	conom-ádnaiss, 84, 12; corom-ádnaicthi, 74, 8; ro-ádnacht, 84, 16, 254, 2; not-ádnastar, 252, 8; verbal noun ádnacal, 74, 10.

ad- cúm.

atcóndarc (*I saw*), 176, 14; ad-cóndairc, 2, 1; at-cón-nairc, 12, 9.	
at-cóncatar (*they saw*), 6, 8; at-choncatar, 46, 29.	

ad- cúm- od.

ad-cóm-laim (*conjungo*).	verbal noun áccomal, 102, 8; do ócomol, 178, 10.

ad- ro.

adroillim (*mereo*), ad-róilliset, W.	ro-áirillem (ro-árlem, Eg.), 260, 27; verbal noun áirliud, 166, 11.

ad (at), áith (éd, íd).

at-béir (*saith*), 2, 11; it-béir, 6, 16; it-bérat, 104, 21; at-bérmais, 6, 15; at-rú-bairt, 10, 29; 30, 5; ad-rú-bairt, 14, 12; ad-rú-pairt, 14, 8.	a n-ápar, 4, 26, 29; natépera, 150, 10.
at-báil (*perishes*), Sg. 4 b, 6.	con-érbailt (= éd-ro-bailt, 58, 31; con-érbailt, 14, 2; verbal noun épiltiu; dat. épiltin, 92, 8.
atchúad (*exposui*); at-chúaid, 256, 10; at-chúademar, 258, 25; at-chú[a]idetar, 60, 27; at-chúattetar, 84, 19; at-chúidetar, 256, 9; atchúass, 164, 26; at-chúas, 236, 7; atcúas, 240, 25.	con-écid, 36, 18; con-éicid, 188, 7.
aithénim (*committo*), ad-ró-ni.	ro-áithni, 68, 16; ro-s-áithni, 178, 12.
at-r-áracht (*surrexit*), 14, 9; adráracht, 58, 28.	

ad- cúm.

atchómnaic (*accidit*), at-acómnaic, 8, 6; attotchómnaicc, 28, 8.	nad n-écmai.

ad- úd.

adópart (*obtulit*), 192, 4; ad-r-ódbertar, 230, 16.	ro-édbart, 72, 28; 94, 29; ro-édbrad, 90, 8; imper. édbair, 88, 9; verbal noun édbairt, 88, 18.

ar, áir (ér, ír).

ar-ícim (*I find*), ar-r-ánic, 94, 19.

co n-áirnic, 110, 22; co n-áirnechtar, 100, 2; dia n-áirsed, 80, 4.

ar-légaim (*I read aloud*).

ro-érleg, 8, 19; ro-hérleg, 30, 28; verbal noun áirlēgend, 8, 22.

argaur (*I forbid*), ar[r]ógart, 228, 22.

ar- fú.

ar-fó-im (*I receive*), G. 51 a, 4; airfemaid, 102, 21; ar-ró-ēt, 16, 20, 80, 12.

co ro-áiraimed, 68, 18; noco n-áiraimfe, maine áiraime, 68, 20.

ar- úd.

arósailcther (*is opened*), M. 14, c 15.

ro-éroslaicthi, 8, 18.

ass, éss.

as-bíur-sa (*I say*), 242, 14; as-bérat, 104, 9; as-bért, 76, 9; 242, 13; as-rú-bairt, 120, 3.

con-érbairt, 12, 28.

as-régim (*I arise*).

ni hérracht, 44, 6; nocha n-éracht, 52, 25; imper. éirig, 14, 8.

ass- cúm.

as - rú - chumlae, (*he went forth*), M. 17 b, 2.

ro-éscumlai, 68, 15.

ass-éss.

inf. éissirge, 76, 10.

ass- ind.

asíndet (*declares*), M. 23 c, 12.

aisnefimet (for áisndefimmet), 10, 9; co ró-aisneded, 178, 31.

con, cúm.

conicim (*possum*), con-icci (*potes*), 56, 4; conícfam, 102, 10; conísad, 258, 28.

con-icim (*convenio*); conránic, 152, 1.

ni cúmcaim-si, 56, 5; nocha cúmcaim, 56, 13; noco chúmcaisi, 102, 20; nad chúmcabad, 72, 4; ni cáemnacair, 72, 4; nā cóemnactar, 110, 3; co cóimsam, 102, 23.

co cómarnic, 74, 14; no cómairsed, 12, 14; co cómraictis, 226, 17.

con- ád.

con-áicci (*sees*), 28, 15; conáccatar, 52, 20; 70, 27.

conácbaim (*I erect*), conácab, 192, 14; conácabsat, 156, 12.

verbal noun, cúmgabail.

con- áir.

conáirlicim (*I permit*), conáir-leced, 142, 11.

ro-cómairleic, 58, 29.

con- áith.

conáitgim (*I demand*), conátig, 112, 3.

verbal noun cúinchid, 14, 29.

con- éss.

con-érracht (*surrexit*), 46, 8.

verbal noun cóimeirge, dat. cóimeirgiu, 46, 10.

con- úd.

conúcbaim (*I erect*), con-úcbad, 92, 17; conn-a-r-gaib, 12, 11; 90, 22.

con-óscaigim (*I remove*).

con-ósna (*rests*), G. 206 a, 3.

verbal noun cúmgabail.

dia cúmscaigthi, 208, 7.

verbal noun cúmsanad, 36, 15; 232, 23.

do, du, dé, dí.

do-bádim (*extinguo*).

do-chúad (*I went*); do-chúaid, 14, 18; do-cúatar, 14, 9; do-cóos, 34, 25; docúas, 184, 23; dochúas, 192, 24.

dogníu (*I do*); do-gní, 8, 10; do-gníset, 74, 5; dorígni, 84, 30; dorígne, 86, 6; doró-gnī, 92, 30; doróne, 8, 20; dorónai, 10, 21; dorígēnsaith, 142, 18; dogénsat, 120, 16; do-néth, 2, 20; dognétis, 260, 7; do-gníther, 80, 7; dorónath, do-rónad, 86, 4, 7.

do-gúidim (*I entreat*).

do-méccim (*I despise*), Sg. 39 b, 1.

main díbdaither, 42, 12.

con-déochatar, 16, 6; na déchais, 42, 20.

ni dénaiter, 80, 8; asa ndénad. 8, 15; na dénaitis, 260, 6; ni déndais, 142, 10; imperat. dénam, 54, 19; dénid, 74, 16.

con-dom-dígdider, 116, 10, 118, 4; verbal noun dígde.

dímicnithi, 176, 4.

de- áir.

con-dérnsam, 28, 23; ni dérntar, 194, 20.

de- áith.

do-éiccim (*I see*); do-nn-éicci, W.

o ro-décai, 36, 16; déccastar, 214, 11; verbal noun déicsin, sg. dat. déicsin, 143, 11.

de- fú.

do-fúthractar (*they desired*).

dúdrachtaige, 206, 7.

de- ín.

do-íngbaim (*I get away*).

dingaib, ni díngēb, 116, 9.

de- rú.

doroimnim (*I forget*), du-n-dam-róimnife-se, M. 32, 5.

no-s-dérmanat, 82, 19.

de- úd.

* doúscim (*I bring to life*).	arnaro-dúiscid, 36, 5; dúsend, 176, 13; 186, 2.

du, do, tú, tó.

do-bíur (*I give*), 154, 5; do-bír, 76, 15; do-bért, 12, 17; do-béirtis, 14, 11; do-béra, 14, 14; do-bér, 228, 11; du-bérr, 158, 5.	i tíbri, 166, 16; ni thibér, 228, 10; ni thábraid, 14, 14; imperat. tábair, 102, 22; verbal noun tábairt, 10, 28; 158, 6.
do-ro-chair (*cecidit*), 12, 7; 46, 6.	co tórchar, 124, 25; co tórchair, 140, 7; con-tórchratar, 190, 19.
do-gáiret (*they call*), 28, 7; do-ró-grad, 88, 7; do-ro-gart, 92, 3.	verbal noun tógairm.
do-gúi-siu (*choosest*), 152, 6; do-róe-ga, 252, 12; do-gégaind, 112, 10.	tógaide, 62, 4.
do-icim (*I come*), do-n-ánaicc, 136, 5; do-n-ánic, 138, 21; do-fánic, 228, 21.	técait, 98, 8; tíctis, 40, 23, 25; asa tanac, 252, 8; tresa tánic, 172, 31; táncatar, 4, 18.
du-lúid (*ivit*), 30, 15; do-lótar, 16, 15.	a túluid, 82, 7.
do-mélim (*I consume*): du-s-rú-malt, 200, 16.	mani tómliur, 200, 3; co tó-r-molath, 54, 2.
do-móiniur (*I think*), do-rúi-mmenatar, 100, 4.	verbal noun tóimtiu.
do-rói-msi (*mensuravit*), 236, 20.	ro-tómais, 70, 13.
do-rindim (*I mark out*): do-ró-raind, 70, 18.	imper. tóraind, 88, 8; verbal noun tóraind, 138, 15.
do-rát (*dedit*), 10, 30; 12, 11; doratsat, 40, 17; dorata, 106, 2.	co tárat, 8, 16; 30, 4; 38, 8; ni tárat, 166, 25; nocon-dartaiter, 114, 2; co tarda, 28, 31; forsa tardad, 14, 17.
do-rega (*veniet*).	ni térga, 38, 17; ni thergaind, 106, 18.
do-rímu (*enumero*), do-rímet, 196, 6.	nis-túirmi, W.
do-thlúgim (*I ask*), do-ró-thlaig, 10, 18 (Eg.); do-ró-thlaigestar, 30, 6.	verbal noun tóthlugud, 10, 14.
do-úc (*tulit*), 86, 19; 168, 1; do-t-úc, 174, 8; do-s-úc, 86, 22.	conos-túicce, 28, 6; túcam, 54, 21; túctha, 104, 10; túcaiter, 252, 24; arna tucaiter, 252, 29.

do- áir.

do-áirberim (*I cast down*), do-r-áirbert, 90, 23.	verbal noun táirbert.
do-áirisim (*I stand by, abide*), do-áiristis, 178, 16.	táirisid, 8, 11.
do-áraill (*venit*), 28, 22.	ni táraill, 28, 25; táraill, 144, 26; nim-táirle, 78, 22.
do-r-áirgert (*praedixit, promisit*), 40, 9.	ro-táirgired, 28, 27.
do-áir-chaintis, 32, 26; do-ér-cachain, 86, 13; do-fáir-chechnatar, 32, 30.	co táirchet, 152, 24.
do-n-árraid, 76, 13; dáfárraid, 30, 23; do-n-árthatar, 138, 27.	imm-a-tárraid, 150, 23.
du-n-árrastair, 138, 20.	co tárrasair, 52, 20; co nach tárrasair, 46, 10.

do- áir- ind.

do-r-áirngert (*praedixit*), 148, 9, 26.	verbal noun táirngire.

do- áith.

do-éprennim (*I gush*), do-r-éprendset, 10, 20.	verbal noun típresiu.
do-r-áth-chuir, 158, 20, 1; do-aith-cuirfe, 158, 14.	coro-thádchuirer, 180, 12; verbal noun tathchor, Fél. June 24; táidchoirte.
do-áitnim (*I shine*), do-r-áitne, 56, 15.	ni thátneba, Z. 452; táitnifes, 260, 17.
do-ácraim, do-ácartmar, Z. 456.	tácermait, 42, 23; verbal noun tácra, 114, 29; tácartha, 128, 24.

do- dé.

do-déchaid (*ivit*), 28, 2; do-déchabair, 100, 6; do-déchotar, 40, 19; dodéchatar, 52, 15; do-déchas, 74, 16; do-dechos, 232, 10.	ceta-thúidchetar, Z. 457; cosa túidches, Z. 467.

do- dé- ud.

do-díussaig (*resuscitavit*), 12, 28; dó-n-[d]iussaig, 234, 1; do-ró-diussaig, 122, 21; do-rói-diusaig, 176, 27; dor-ró-diusaig, 182, 5.	dia tódiuscai, 198, 10; in rotoduscad, 198, 26; dia tódúscthar, 133, 1; verbal noun tódiuscud, 12, 28; 198, 12; tóduscud, 182, 4.

do- éss.

do-ésurc (*I save*), do-r-ésart, 204, 21.

verbal noun téssarcon.

do- fór.

dufúrcbad (gl. *promebat*), Ml. 72[b].

túarcaib, 126, 10; co túarcab, 256, 2; túargabad, 96, 1; túarcabad, 126, 7; verbal noun túrcbāl.

do- fú.

do-fúit (*falls*), 112, 30, 31; do-fútitis, 150, 4.

asa túiter, Z. 342, fora túit, Z. 431.

do- fú- ess.

do-fúisim (*brings forth*), 8, 10; do-m-r-ó-sat, 140, 25.

inf. túistiu.

do- índ.

do-r-ínfith (*inspiravit*), 2, 7.

tínfesti, Z. 49; tinfeth, Z. 42.

do-r-ínscan (*incepit*), 252, 5.

co tórinscan, 226, 1; o thárinnscan, 208, 11.

*do-intaim (*I turn*).

tíntāi, 182, 27.

do- índ- air.

tíndarscan, 54, 25; 168, 21.

do- tú.

do-thóet (*ivit*), 38, 19; 160, 19; dothæt, 142, 26; dotáit, 186, 13.

dotíefaitis (*they would have come to*), 152, 3.

do- tú- fu.

do-thúit (*falls*).

ní thóith, 142, 22; hi toithsad, 136, 21.

do- úd.

*doúcbaim (*I raise up*).

verbal noun tócbāil, 168, 21.

fo, fú, fó.

fo-gábim (*I find*), fo-góbat, 92, 18; fogébad, 32, 23.	ni fógbai, Z. 429.
fo-gliunn (*I learn*), fo-gléinn, 240, 9.	ro-fóglaind, 8, 19, 28, 2.
fo-gníu (*I serve*), fo-rúi-genai, 16, 20; fo-rui-génair, 16, 26; fo-gnífe, 70, 10; fo-gnífi, 108, 24.	ara fógna, Z. 441; dia fórgensam, Z. 342.

fo- ád.

fo-ácbaim (*I leave*), fo-r-ácaib, fo-r-áccaib, 28, 28, 29; fo-r-ácabsat, 40, 19.	hi fá-r-caib, 30, 20; = hi-fárgaib, 198, 2; ní fóicebaind, 244, 5; verbal noun fácbail, 38, 5.
foátbi (*smiles*), 98, 7.	verbal noun fáitbiud.

fo- cúm.

fo-chosslim (*I take away*), fu-ró-xail, 80, 21; fo-chóissled, 130, 21.	verbal noun fóxul.

for- cúm.

for-ta-cómaisom, M. 29 a, 3.	fórcmaid, 140, 7.[1]

fo- úd.

fo-r-úaslaic (*looses*), 32, 4.	con-da-fórslaic, 82, 1; verbal noun fúaslucud, 32, 4.

for.

for-bíur (*I grow*).	co fórbrad, 12, 20.
for-icim (*I find*).	hi fúirsitis, 190, 21, 23.

friss, fríth.

friss-ró-gart (*answered*), 124, 23; fris-ro-grat, 28, 11; fris-[g]érat, 34, 8.	verbal noun frécre.
fris-orcim (*I oppose*), fris-órt, 138, 17.	verbal noun fríthorcon.
fris-brúidim (*I deny*), fris-brubdi, M. 28b, 8.	ro-fríthbruid, 68, 17; ro-[f]rithbruithset.

frith-m-bert, 210, 23, seems an error for *fris-m-bert.*

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[1] Correct the glossary at p. 650, where this verb is wrongly treated as a substantive.

friss- tú.

fris-túlaid (*contraivit*), 146, 21.

friss- tú- air.

fristárrassair, 30, 17.

friss- tú- de.

fris-túidchid, 78, 12; fris-túdchaid, 78, 16; 200, 23; 208, 6; fri[s]túidchetar, 80, 2,=fris-túichetar, Ml. 21 c, 2.

verbal noun frítuidecht.

iarmi, iarm, iarmi-fo-air.

iarmi-fór-id, 202, 16.

immi, imm.

imme-sói (*turns round*), 82, 16 (but imsoi, 38, 19).

ro-immpai, 54, 10; verbal noun ímpod.

imm- áith.

imm-us-áiccichet, 158, 11.

imm- cúm.

imme-chómarcar, G. 27 a, 2; immechóimairsed, M. 20 b, 18.

immcomairc, 58, 4; im-comaircet, 100, 5.

imm- dé.

imm-dé-ruad, 74, 24.

verbal noun ímmdēnum.

imm- tú.

imm-a-tárraid, 150, 24.

darmi, táirm.

darmi-régtais, 204, 19.	cita-táirmdechaid, 214, 14; na tárm-dechatar, 258, 19, 260, 22. ro-táirmesc, 110, 24; ni-n-táirmeiscfed, 42, 6; mani táirmiscter, 42, 14. co-na táirmtiasad, 112, 4; tarsa tármthiágat, Cr. 18 b, 8; verbal noun táirmthecht.

The above forms generally agree with those in the Old-Irish MSS.; but to the Middle-Irish period belongs the use as independent verbs of *tecait*, etc., *tairisid*, *tacermait*, *tuarcaib*, etc., *tindarscan*, *taitnifes*, forms which in Old-Irish occur only after the particles above mentioned.

Endings of conjunct and of absolute forms.

The distinction in the endings between the conjunct and the absolute forms is generally well preserved. Thus in the present indicative active, sg. 3:—

ă-stems. Conjunct forms: *at-beir; do-bir*, 58, 10; *do-fuabair*, *dusn-arrith*, *fo-ceirt*, 82, 17, 18; 114, 13; *fo-geib*, 84, 5; *fo-gleinn*, 240, 9; *for-d-indet*, 183, 20; *imm-com-aire*, 58, 4; *im-soi*, 38, 12; *ta-thaig*, 252, 18; *teit*, 60, 4; 154, 24; *rosaig*, 114, 22, 23. Absolute forms: *benaid*, 114, 12; *maraidh*, 90, 25; *rigid*, 152, 12; and perhaps *saidid* (sits), 84, 6, and *sādid* (sets), 158, 23.

ā-stems. Conjunct forms: *nocon-assa*, 92, 10; *ar-léga*, 226, 19; *ni loba*, 154, 22; *in-tindscana*, 244, 13; *nocha techta*, 108, 12; *con-da-scara*, 217, 27. Absolute forms: *ássaid*, 248, 9 = *asaid*, 152, 13; *léguid*, 190, 8.

ī-stems. Conjunct forms: *a-taebi*, 4, 5; *ar-cesi*, 72, 3; *nos-fáidi*, 24, 2, 1; *no-l-loisci*, 130, 21; *do-sn-ailgi*, 152, 8; *du-da-slugai*, 74, 21; *no-s-fáidi*, 242, 1. Absolute forms: *ciid*, 114, 15; *guidid*, 126, 30; *sreid*, 248, 9.

But here again we find Middle-Irishisms, such as *aithnid*, 76, 16; *at-chíd*, 206, 17; *fáithbid*, 132, 4; *for-cmaid*, 140, 7; *tairisid*, 8, 11; where the ending proper to absolute is added to conjunct verbs.

In the pl. 3. Pres. indic. act. Conjunct forms: *as-berat*, 104, 9; *at-berat*, 142, 11; *it-berat*, 104, 21; *fo-gobat*, 92, 18; *nochan follamnaiget*, 94, 27; *im-com-aircet*, 100, 5; *a tiagat*, 210, 7; *ni toirthiget*, 34, 27. Absolute forms: *ciit*, 58, 4; *clechtait*, 158, 17; *denait*, 142, 13; *feidligit*, 90, 15; pret. deponential: *tachaitir*, 70, 28; and redupl. fut. passive: *gébthair*, 244, 19. In *tecait* (O. Ir. *tecat*) we have an absolute wrongly used for a conjunct form.

S-preterites, conjunct forms: *ro(s)ecsat*, 110, 2; *doratsat*, 110, 5; *fugellsat*, 126, 24; *ro-creitset*, 134, 33 (Eg.); absolute: *sloicsitt*, 58, 12; *scarsit*, 130, 6; *cóinsit*, 132, 15.

So also in the reduplicated future and the *b*-future:—

Conjunct.	Absolute.
sg. 1. *do-bér-sa*, 54, 24; *do-m-bér-sa*, 104, 2; *din-géb*, 116, 17; *do-gén*, 52, 24; *fo-géb-sa*, 164, 23; *ni ber-sa*, 240, 5; *nii géb-sa*, 118, 9; *ni reg-sa*, 118, 15.	*béra-sa*, 240, 5; *creitfe*, 130, 20; *cretfe-ssa*, 132, 1; *gellfa-ssa*, 140, 2; *mairbfe-sa*, 164, 6 (Eg.); *rega*, 52, 22.
sg. 2.	*rega-su*, 56, 29.
sg. 3. *ticfa*, 34, 5; 120, 4; 142, 29; *do-ticfa*, *ricfa*, 84, 20; *at-bélai*, 220, 1; *do-béra*, 46, 16, 94, 19; *tocéba*, 120, 20; *terga*, 220, 6; *fognífe*, 70, 10; *fognífi*, 108, 24; *foruaisligfe*, 42, 13; *dus in fortachtaigfe*, 220, 21; *nat creitfi*, 52, 25; *ni chuirfi*, 78, 9; *ni rega*, 196, 12; *nocon-ainfe*, 128, 23; *nocon bia*, 86, 27; *ni aidlibe*, 78, 23.	*bid*, 86, 30; *creitfid*, 46; *firfid*, 120, 6; *slechtfaid*, 46, 16; *lin-faid*, 252, 22.
pl. 1. *conicfam*, 102, 10; *con-ricfam*, 76, 7; *dogénam-ne*, 102, 13; 142, 4; *ni dignem*, 130, 11; *ni mairfem*, 130, 10.	*scérmait*, 74, 19; *regmaid-ne*, 42, 16.
pl. 2. *dobéraid*, 142, 19; *ni tergaid*, *ni regaid*, 182, 29.	*bethe*, 182, 30.
pl. 3. *ticfat*, 34, 10; 234, 8; *ticcfett*, 152, 5; *ni leicfet*, 84, 28.	*genfit*, 58, 12; *lilit*, 180, 26; *regait*, 202, 5.

But here again we find Middle-Irishisms: *tacermait*, 42, 23; and *noco biaid*, 144, 12; where absolute are used for conjunct forms.

*Other ancient verbal forms to be found in the Tripartite Life are the reduplicated preterites, the *t*- preterites, the reduplicated futures, and the *s*- futures. Of these in their order.

Reduplicated Preterites.

Root *anc*. sg. 2. t-anac, 252, 8. sg. 3. tánic, 2, 5. pl. 3. tancatar, 4, 18; 12, 4. sg. 3. ar-r-ánic, 94, 19; 108, 28. con-air-nic, 110, 22. co com-arnic, 74, 14 = cu com-arnaic, 211, 13. for-r-anic, Reduplicated preterites.

156, 16 (Eg.). pl. 3. corancatar, 188, 24. for[r]-ancatar, 230, 72. con-airnechtar, 100, 2. con-arnactar, 164, 27.

bad. sg. 3, ta-r-faid, 238, 7. Pass. sg. 3, tarfas, 256, 5.

1. *be* (pres. *be-n-im*). sg. 3. bí, 148, 2; pl. 3. ro-béotar, L.U. 62, a. l. 16.

2. *be* (pres.). sg. 1. robá, ropsa, 124, 25; robá, 128, 11. sg. 3. ni-bai, 14, 30. a mbái, 40, 3, nad bái, 40, 13. robái, 4, 14, 33. dia mbái, 84, 1; 156, 20. fororbái, 34, 17; 170, 9; 178, 18. pl. 1. ro-bámar, 140, 15. 3. bátar, 84, 19. battar, 16, 5. robátar, robátor, 224, 2. 142, 15; 2, 4; 44, 4; 94, 14. robtar, 32, 28. robtar, 32, 28. roptar, 32, 29; am-[b]dar, 10, 31. comdar, 12, 29. im-bátar, 108. 19.

pass. fororbaide, 804, 7.

can (sing). sg. 3. ro-cachain, 44, 2. do-er-cachain, 86, 13. pl. 3. do-(f)air-chechnatar, 32, 30.

car. sg. 1. co torchar, 124, 25. sg. 3. do-ro-chair, 46, 6; 240, 18. co torchair, 46, 9; 196, 24. pl. 3. con-torcratar, 190, 19.

cas (see) sg. 1. -acca, 140, 14. sg. 3. -acca-si, 168, 23. pl. 3. con-accatar, 42, 7; 79, 26. at-con-catar, 6, 8, 29.

clad (dig), sg. 3. ro-claid, 108, 11 (perhaps an *s*-pret.).

clu (hear). sg. 1. ro-chuala-sa, 128, 11. sg. 3. ro-cuala, 38, 3. ro chúalai, 66, 22. co cúala, 88. 6; 222, 26. co cualatar, 114, 13. ó't-chúalatar, 92, 3.

1. *cud.* sg. 1. do-de-chod, 106, 19. sg. 2. co-tud-chad, 208. 18. sg. 3. docóid, 190, 1. do-chuaid, 12, 27. do-de-chaid, 28, 2. cita-tairmdechoid, 214, 4. fris-tudchaid, 200, 23; 202, 2. Pl. 2. do-de-chabair (for chodbair), 100, 6. Pl. 3. docuatar, 14, 19; 186, 1. dochótar, 90. dochúatar, 104, 13. -deochatar, 16, 6. -dechotar, 40, 17, 19; 52, 16. dodechator, 42, 18. fri-túidchetar, 82, 2. na tarmdechatar, 258, 19. Pass. pret. docuas, 184, 23. dochúas, 192, 24. dodechos, 232, 10,

2. *cud.* sg. 3. at-chuaid, 60, 23; 256, 10. con-ecid, 36, 18. con-éicid, 188, 6. pl. 1. atchuademar, 258, 25. pl. 3. atch[ú]aiditar, 60, 22. atchuatettar, 84, 19. atchuidetar, 256, 9. Pass. pret. adchúass, 124, 26. atchuas, 236, 7. atcúas, 240, 25.

dam. sg. 1. ro-damar, 140, 16 (leg. dámar?): sg. 3. ad-ro-damair, 148, 5.

derc (see). sg. 1. at condarc, 176, 14, 17. sg. 3. at-con-dairc, 2. 2, 4, 15 = atconnairc, 4, 9. pl. 3. ó't-connarcatar, 222, 18.

ed (eat), pl. 3. dootar, 198, 8.

fa(p) (sleep), sg. 3. fíu. 156, 19; 184, 15. fiu-sam, 176, 6 (but ro foi, 146. 1). pl. 3. -féotar, 242, 2.

gad (pray). sg. 2. ro-gad, 120, 5. sg. 3. ro-gaid, 56, 13; 86, 20, 144, 7; 182, 3; 198, 20; 234, 25. pl. 3. ro-gadatar, 120, 1. tar-gaid, tarcaid, 180, 4.

1. *gan* (to be born), sg. 3. ro-génair, 8, 8, 9, 13; 80, 11; 166, 10.

,, (to do), sg. 3. do-rigéni, fo-rus-génair, 16, 26.

2. *gan* (to know), sg. 3. con-gain, 114, 10.

glenn (learn), sg. ro-fo-glaind, 8, 19, 28, 2 (perhaps an *s*- pret.).

gon (wound), sg. 3. ro-geguin, 72, 26.

gu(*s*) (choose), sg. 1. doroega, 252, 12.

li (adhere), sg. 3. ro-lil, 80, 25.

man (think), sg. 3. roménair, 136, 4 (rommenair, Eg.). pl. 3. do rui-mmenatar, 100, 4.

1. *mat.* sg. 3. ni ermadair, 126, 4. pl. 3. irmadatar, W[b]. 5[b].

2. *mat* (break) sg. 3. memaid, 130, 23; 194, 15, 17 = mebaid, 114, 14. co roimid, 240, 9. roemid, 218, 25. ro[e]mmid, 8, 17.

mid (think), sg. 3. romidair, 40, 12. ro-midair, 178, 20.

(*nanc*) *nac.* sg. 3. ni chóimnacair, 126, 10. -caemnacair, 72, 4. for-cóimnacair, 34, 16. forco[e]mnacair, 46, 4. -forchoemnacair, 46, 20. forcoemnacair, 58, 20. pl. 3. -coemnactar, 100, 3.

nig (wash), sg. 3. ro-nnig, 144, 8.

rac. sg. 3. ar roe-rachair, 104, 14, 25. aroirachair, 68, 21.

reg (*rig*?). fo-t-róraig, fo-n-roiraig, 208, 18.

ret (run), sg. 3. do-ro-raid, 244, 10. tarraid, 200, 9; 202. 23. pres. ind. *do-rethim*. pl. 3. duairthetar, 286, 1. do-n-arthatar, 138, 27.

ri (for *pri*), sg. 3. ro-ír, 30, 25. pres. ind. renim.

sed (sit), sg. 3. deissid (= de-ess-sid), 2, 2. desid, 4, 3, 9; deisid, 58, 1; 178, 27. pl. 3. deissetar, 98, 20. To this root also sg. 3 dothuarthed, 242, 9, and iarmiforid, 202, 16, apparently belong.

sneg (drop), sg. 3. ro-senaig, 240, 3. ro senaich, 117, 9, for -se(s)naig.

tā (*stā*), sg. 3. an-dæsta (du-es-ta, Eg.), 112, 5. pl. 3. testatar, 126, 9.

tark, trak. sg. 3. *mi-duthracair*, 50, 16.

tek (flee), sg. 3. ro-thaich, 174, 14. pl. 3. tachaitir, 70, 28.

tig (ask), sg. 3. conatig, 112, 3, depon. conaitigir, 228, 7 = conaitigair, 230, 17. Perhaps *co-r-etegair*, 214, 10, belongs to this.

vleng (leap), sg. 3. tarblaing, 188, 11.

It is probable that fuair, 34, 23; 36, 8, fo-s-fuair, 36, 15; 92, 10. fouáir, 92, 17. 222, 14. fo-n-úair, 248, 10. pl. 3. fuaratar, 222, 7, fóbhúaratar, 96, 16, are perfects, though the root is obscure.

T- Preterites.

These will be arranged according to the finals of their respective roots,—1. vowels; 2. gutturals; 3. nasals; 4. liquids.

ba, sg. 3. at-bath, 32, 22; 92, 20; 120, 25; 218, 8; 240, 9.

la. imrulaid, 196, 7 = imrulaith, Fled Bricrenn, 55, 7. pl. 3. con-imruldatar, Tur. 65.

lu, sg. 3. luith, 14, 28; 86, 12; 92, 16; 214, 18. luid, 14, 1. pl. 3. lotar, 16, 13. col-lotar, 192, 8. lottar, 134, 14. Compounds: dolluid, 190, 20; 202, 11. fris-tulaid, 146, 21. pl. dolotar, 16, 15.

ac. i-ro-acht, 260, 2. do-ru-acht, 30, 16; 240, 25. -toracht, 56, 2; 60, 16. -taracht, 38, 21. pl. 3. corro-achtatar, 40, 20.

anac. ro-anacht, 58, 24.

(*nanc*), *nac*: ro-n-adnacht, 112, 6.

orc. ro-ort, 192, 15. fris-ort, 138, 17. do-r-es-art, 204, 21.

rag, sg. 3. ni erracht, 44, 6. nochan éracht, 52, 25. *arag* (?), atraracht, 14, 29; 44, 1. adráracht, 58, 28. asráracht, 194, 23; 230, 3.

sec. ro-siacht, 178, 15. co riacht, 68, 22; 222, 14. Perhaps *foriacht-aide*, 234, 15, belongs to this.

slig. ros-aslacht, 236, 4.

vac. ro-iar-facht, 84, 22; 122, 22; 210, 10; 230, 6. roíarfacht, 176, 13; 242, 1; 244, 19.

can, sg. 3. ro-chet, LU. 40b, 8.

dam, pl. 3. ni damdatar, 204, 1 (Eg.), a Middle-Irish form.

em. sg. 3. ro-s-et, 164, 20; arroét, 80, 12 = aroet, 70, 8. pl. 3. arroetatar, 102, 23; 222, 20.

sem, sg. 3. do-m-ro-sat, 140, 25.

ber, sg. 2. erbairt, 196, 10. sg. 3. bert, 174, 19; 232, 3. arbert-ai, 162, 27; 164, 1. do-bert, 112, 2; do-r-airbert, 90, 23.

frithmbert, 210, 20. con-erbart, 28, 5; 112, 19. do-forbartt, 114, 12. forubart, 176, 19. ro-edbart, 162, 11. adopart, 192, 4, but also (with umlaut) erbairt, 12, 28; 30, 3; 246, 12. adrubairt, 14, 12; 30, 5. adrupairt, 14. 8. adrubairt, 236, 16. ro-edbairt, 36, 24. Pl. 1. reimerbertammar, 192, 10. pl. 3. dobertatar, 84, 17. róedbratar, 224, 11. ad-r-odbertar, adropartudar, 230, 16.

gar, sg. 3. do-ro-gart, 92, 4; 200, 6; 222, 27. frissrogart, 124, 23. arogart, 228, 22. forcongart, 178, 30. fororcongart, 198, 11; 228, 19; 230, 2, 9. toracart, 128, 23. dorargert-som, 160, 10. dorairgert, 40, 9. dorairngert, 148, 1. dorairngert, 148, 9, 26. dorairggert, 178, 8. dorincart, 44, 18 = doringart, 44, 30. pl. 3. conacartatar, 134, 6. 'mus-fri-ecarta[ta]r, 32, 6.

al, sg. 3. ro-alt, 102, 30. pl. 3. ro-altatar, 80, 20; 92, 25.

bal, sg. 3. con-erbailt, 58, 31. cond-erbailt, 14, 2.

cel, pl. 3. doceltatar, 218, 1.

mel, sg. 3. du-s-ro-malt, 200, 16.

Reduplicated Futures.

Sg. 1. Conjunct forms:—at-bél-sa, 200, 12. do-bér-sa, 54, 24. do-m-bér-sa, 104, 2. do-s-bér, 164, 24. ni thibér, 228, 10. din-géb, 116, 17. fo-géb-sa, 164, 23. ni géb-sa, 28, 30; 118, 19. din-géb, 116, 17. fo-géb-sa, 164, 23. fotuicébsa, 176, 3. do-gén, 52, 24; 150, 29. ni reg-sa, 114, 1; 118, 15. Reduplicated futures.

Absolute forms:—rega, 52, 22. rega-su, 56, 29.

Sg. 2. Conjunct:—at-béla, 60, 2; 252, 8. at-béra-su, 102, 13. do-béra, 152, 26. nad-géba, 94, 25. nogéba. 118, 10. im[a]rega, 112, 15. nórega, 117, 20. Absolute: rega.

Sg. 3. Conjunct:—at-béla, 200, 12. at-bélai, 220, 1. do-béra, 118, 6. -tibéra, 118, 8. -epéra, 150, 10: passive:—do-bérthar, 56, 32. -accigi (for -accichi, root *cas*), 130, 8. ni géba, 104, 2. tocéba, 120, 20. congéba, 226, 7. do-géna, 118, 7. pass. conna bérthar, 70, 31. do-géntar, 42, 24; 56, 28. ni-rega, 196, 12. do-raga, 60, 2. ni terga, 38, 17. co-scéra, pass. co-scérthar, 34, 13.

Absolute:—gébaid, rel. gébas, 116, 25, 27; 142, 30. passive gébthar, 118, 14. nut-gébthar, 190, 6. ni fuigebthar, 214, 12. gignid, 150, 7, rel. gigness, 154, 18. méraid, rel. mérus (leg. -as), 86, 30. regaid, 220, 2. Passive: gébthair, 244, 19.

Pl. 1. Conjunct:—at-bélom, 200, 13. do-géuam-ne, 103, 13; 142, 4.

Absolute :—scérmait, 74, 19. regmaid-ne, 42, 16. In *tacérmait*, 42, 23, we have the absolute wrongly used for the conjunct form.

Pl. 2. Conjunct :—dobéraid, 142, 19. regaid, ni tergaid, 182, 29.

Pl. 3. Conjunct :—immus-aiccichet, 158, 11. fris-gérat, 34, 8.
Absolute :—lilit, 180, 26. regait, 202, 5; 232, 11.

The following secondary forms of this tense are found ;—

Sg. 1. do-gegaind, 112, 10. ni-regaind, 112, 13. ni thergainn, 106, 18. ni foicébaind, 244, 5.

Sg. 3. cita-n-acciged, 130, 17. do-génath, 54, 8. dogénad, 236, 18. asa-n-dénad, 8, 15. no-regad, 76, 11; 224, 10. na-regad, 148, 3. nád regad, 190, 24. nocho scérad, 34, 1. Passive. na gébtha, 42. 4.

Pl. 3. n-im-an-accigtis, 212. 28. no-gébtais, 170, 3. ni dén-dáis, 142, 10. no-regtaíss, 170, 2, nu-regtáis, 166, 4. no-reg-taíss, 170, 2. darmi-regtais, 204, 20.

S- Future.

Sg. 1. Conjunct :—for-tés, 88. 28. deponent, ad-fésar, 222, 5.

Sg. 2. Conjunct :—ad-claiss, 88, 28. na dechais, 42, 20. con-om-adnaiss, 84, 12. In *tair* (= do-air-ic-s) 46, 22 and *do-n-air*, 118, 2, Eg., the *s* is lost.

Sg. 3. Conjunct :—do-ma, 84, 9. ní thóith, 142, 22. co tí, 60, 15; 214, 12. ni-ría, 118, 2. Passive: asan-acastar, 206, 6. déc-castar, 214, 11. not-adnastar, 252, 28.

Absolute :—memais, 138, 7; 142, 20, 21.

Pl. 1. co coimsam, 102, 23. corrísam, 244, 18. ro-íssam, 258, 22 = ro-isam, 260, 26.

Pl. 2. tairset, 246, 8. Absolute: tíassat, 252, 26. Relative: ista, 174, 11.

The following secondary forms of this tense are found :—

Sg. 2. con-digesta, 28, 28. condesta, 188, 16 = connesta, 116, 19.

Sg. 3. dia-n-airsed, 80, 4. na comairsed, 12, 14. i toithsad, 136, 21. arna eirsed, 42, 28. co fessadh, 122, 14. ro-fessad, 42, 6. con-isad, 258, 27. co tísad, 190, 24; 194, 1. ma dothisad, 118, 15. co-na tairmtíasad, 112, 4. Passive: no adnasta, 252, 23. pl. 3. hi fuirsitis, 190, 21, 23.

But the forms con-digseth, 12, 22, con-digsed, 112, 6, and the pl. 3, digsitiss, 14, 19, digsitis, 242, 20, with their preservation of the guttural, are distinctly Middle-Irish.

Middle-Irish are also the *s*-preterites used for reduplicated preterites (ro-m-gon, 122, 26. ro-snig, 124, 8. ro-reithset, 12, 6. ro-rensat, 16, 17. rotheichestar, 46, 11. do-s-rensat, 16, 6), and for *t*- preterites (ro-sn-edbair, 184, 20. ro-edbairset, 68, 12. sg. 3. ro-edbair, 80, 10. ro-thair[n]ger, 164, 24). Middle-Irish is the addition of the *s*- endings to reduplicated preterites, rucsat, 254, 1. rucsatar, 236, 10. tuccais, 10, 29. tucsat, 168, 20. dofucsat, 222, 19. tucsatar, 182, 21. Middle-Irish is the addition of the *s*- ending to the third sg. of a compound verb, fácbais, 214, 16. And Middle-Irish is the frequency of the use of the absolute form of the 3d sg.: áiliss, 188, 26. anais, 30, 1; 110, 10. bendachais, 86, 24; 244, 10. bennachais, 70, 30; 220, 10: benachais, 28, 24. carais, 232, 1. ceilebraiss, 146, 19 = ceilebrais, 194, 12. cóiniss, 82, 20. collais, 214, 10. creitis, 210, 16, 18. erpais, 82, 24. fillis, 244, 9. fóidis, 84, 1; 110, 23. fothaigis, 98, 12; 110, 11. gabais, 84, 15; 114, 11. gataiss, 164, 5. gatis, 200, 3. glanais, 114, 19. iadais, 84, 8. ícais, 12, 29. mallachais, 146, 7. rosis, 198, 6. saidis, 148, 23. scríbais, 110, 9. sénais, 36, 10; 92, 29. slechtais, 220, 10. sloccus, 36, 10. sóiss, 218, 23. troisciss, 218, 22. Middle-Irish, also, is the use in the case of active verbs of deponential forms in the sg. 3 and pl. 3: Thus, *ro-m-baitsestar*, 36, 23; *ro-bennachastar*, 150, 16; 152, 23; 210, 6; *ro-celebrastar*, 182, 18; *ro-comaicsegestar*, 40, 12 = *ro-comaiccsigestar*, 68, 14; *ro-écnaigestar*, 36, 9; *ro-ferastair*, 56, 1; *ro-fergaigestar*, 44, 27; 58, 27 = *roferccaigestar*, 228, 15; *ro-fothaigestar*, 108, 7; 134, 3 = *fothaigestar*, 156, 3; *forothaigestar*, 160, 2; 194, 4; *ro-meglestar*, 180, 24; *ro-orddnestar*, 194, 6; 214; *ro-sroiglestar*, 68, 32; *ro-theichestar*, 46, 4. Plural: *ro-imeclaigsitar*, 44, 26; *ro-machtaigsetar*, 56, 3. Middle-Irish is the deponential form of the conjunctive sg. 1. of active verbs: (*co ro-creitiur*, 46, 23; *co ro-foillsigiur*, 52, 22; *co n-acor*, 52, 24; *mani tomliur*, 200, 13. Middle-Irish is the relative form in a compound verb: *taitnifes*, 260, 17

If to the Middle-Irishisms above pointed out, we add such forms as *dodechabair*, 100, 6; *docoras*, 108, 20; *étastar*, 118, 27, such forms of the verb substantive as *rabus*, 6, 5; *ro-m-both*, 32, 16; *failet*, 100, 12; *bailet*, 174, 10, such changes in the cases governed by prepositions as *dar cridhib*, 6, 21, *tré airdib*, *triana apstalaib*, 6, 24, *tresna maigib*, 46, 8, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the Tripartite Life was compiled in the eleventh century, after the Middle-Irish period had well set in, but from documents, many, if not all, of which were composed before A.D. 1000.

Conclusion from the linguistic argument.

III.

Documents other than the Tripartite Life.

Extracts from the Book of Armagh.

Of these the most valuable are the extracts from the Book of Armagh, printed upon pp. 269–380. The Book of Armagh is a small vellum quarto, 7¾ inches in height, 5¾ in breadth, 2¼ in thickness. It now contains 221 leaves. The writing is generally in double columns (very rarely in three), and all seems the work of the same scribe, Ferdomnach, whose name occurs (fo. 214 a) in the following entry:—

The scribe.

Pro ferdomnacho orés.

These were two famous scribes of this name connected with Armagh, one of whom died A.D. 727, the other A.D. 845. That the scribe of the Book of Armagh was the latter has been ingeniously argued, and I think proved, by Bishop Graves[1] from the following half-erased entry in a semi-Greek character which occurs in fo. 52 b.:

. . . . . ακh hυΝκ λ . .
. . μ . . . ε δικταΝτε
. . . βακh . hΗρΗΔΗ πατ
ρΙκιι . CκρΙπCιτ —

Noting that the only 'heres Patricii' whose name ended in *-bach* was Torbach, Bishop Graves restores this entry thus:

F DOMNACH . HUNC . LIB-
E RVM. E[2] DICTANTE
R TORBACH . HEREDE. PAT-
RICII . SCRIPSIT.

As Torbach held the primacy for only one year and died in 808, the MS. must have been written either in 807 or 808. The following entry in fo. 36 a. proves that it must have been written in the former year:

εΧπλικιτ . αευαΝΓυε
λιωΝ . κατα MAT
THVM . CKPIπτVM
ατκNIVE ΦITVM .
IN ΦΗρια . MATTHI

[1] Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, III., 316–324.

[2] As there is just room for three letters between *rum*. and *e* we may perhaps read (*ben*)e dictante.

Explicit aevanguelīōn kata Mattēum scriptum atque finitum in fēria Mattēi.

For as Torbach's death took place on the 16th July, and this entry was made on the 21st of September, the feast of S. Matthew, the MS., or at all events the part of it containing the first gospel, must have been written in 807.

The first leaf, which contained the commencement of Muirchu's memoirs of S. Patrick, is lost. Its contents may be supplied from the Brussels MS., of which an extract is printed infra pp. 494–496.

fol. 2 a. 1–fol. 9 a. 1 contains Muirchu Maccu-Mach-théni's Memoirs of S. Patrick printed infra pp. 271–301. This Muirchu professes to write in obedience to the command (*imperio oboediens*) of bishop Aed of Sletty, who died A.D. 698. In excusing his imperfect style (*vilis sermo*) he suggests that he was not a mere compiler or copyist. Muirchu's Memoir.

fol. 9 a. 1 contains four phrases, disconnected and in very rustic Latin, called *dicta Patricii*. The first mentions the saint's journey through the Gauls and Italy. The *Dicta Patricii.*

fol. 9 a. 2–fol. 16 a. 1 contains miscellaneous notes on the Saint's life, which bishop Tírechán is said to have written from the dictation, or copied from a book (*ex ore vel libro*) of his fosterfather or tutor, bishop Ultán, of Ardbraccan, who died A.D. 656. They are printed infra pp. 302–333. From the passage in p. 302, ll. 20–22, Tírechán seems to have had before him a work (now lost) entitled *Commemoratio Laborum*, which was ascribed to Patrick himself. At p. 310, l. 5 infra, Tírechán quotes Patrick's Confessio, calling it *scriptio sua*. He refers to tradition in p. 307, l. 33; p. 331, ll. 10, 22; p. 332, l. 25, to collections made at 'antique peretissimis' in p. 333, l. 22. His chronology in p. 302, ll. 17–25, differs from his chronology in p. 331, ll. 22–28. On the whole, M. Benjamin Robert is justified in saying that this document 'se compose de notes prises par l'auteur dans différentes biographies aussi bien que dans les traditions orales,' and that 'son importance ressort de ce fait même, qui nous montre le procédé littéraire des auteurs de l'époque.[1] Tírchán's notes.

fol. 16 a. 2, fol. 18 b. 2, contains some additional notes in Latin and Old-Irish, which the scribe seems to have

[1] Étude critique sur la vie et l'œuvre de Saint Patrick, Elbeuf, 1883, p. 48.

inserted from unknown sources. These notes are printed infra pp. 334–348. They relate to the missionary activity of Iserninus (otherwise called bishop Fith) and Secundirus (otherwise Sechnall), and of Patrick's disciples Lommán, Fortchern, Colmán, Benignus and Fíacc. "The Codex here (to quote Sir Samuel Ferguson) has the appearance of a commonplace book of undigested material." But the stories of Lommán (p. 334), bishop Fith (p. 342), and Fíacc (p. 344) have the flavour of authenticity. And no miracle, save that of Fíacc's chariot (p. 347, ll. 14–20), is mentioned in these notes.

The list of catch-words.

fol. 18 b. 2–19 a. 1 contains, in an extremely minute hand, notes or catchwords representing in the main that portion of the Tripartite Life which is not embraced in Muirchu's Memoir and Tírechán's Notes. The beginning, for instance, D(uma) g(rad) ailbe i Senchui altáre, corresponds with lines 1, 2, 3 of p. 94 infra. But there is nothing corresponding to it in the Book of Armagh.

Muirchu's prologue.

fol. 20 a. contains Muirchu's prologue to his memoir, as well as the headings to his chapters. Prologue and headings are printed infra pp. 269–271, before the memoir to which they belong.

The contents of ff. 2a–20a have already been published, with learning and accuracy, by the Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., in the *Analecta Bollandiana,* Brussels, 1882.

The Book of the Angel.

fol. 20 b. 1–21 b. 2 Liber Anguelī. A revelation made by an angel to S. Patrick concerning the boundaries and prerogatives of the see of Armagh. It corresponds with the Tripartite Life, pp. 234, l. 23–236, l. 13. Incidentally it mentions that difficult questions which could not be solved by Patrick's successor, should be referred to the Apostolic See, *i.e.*, 'ad Petri Apostoli cathedram autoritatem Romæ urbis habentem'—not, observe, as having the spiritual authority conferred on Peter by Christ (Matt. xvi. 18). This tract is printed infra pp. 352–356. It has also been published by Mr. Hogan in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* VII. 845.

The *Confessio Patricii.*

fol. 22 a. 1–24 b. 1, the so-called Confessio of S. Patrick, printed infra pp. 357–375, with additions, in brackets, from the Cotton MS. Nero E. 1, folio 171. At the end is the note: Huc usque uolumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima decima Martii

die translatus est Patricius ad caelos. The Confessio is also, as above remarked, quoted by Tírechán as Patrick's 'scriptio.'[1] Other copies of the Confessio are in the Bodleian, Fell I. ff. 7^a–11^b (whence it is printed in Gilbert's *National MSS.* of Ireland, Part II., Appendix III.), Fell III., fol. 158^a–164^a. The Cotton and the two Fell MSS. are all of the eleventh century. A fourth copy, published by the Bollandists, belonged to St. Vedast, and is now, I am assured by Père de Smedt, preserved in the public library at Arras; but I cannot ascertain the date of this MS.[2] The Confessio has often been published, the last and best edition being that of Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., II. 296–313. It is, to quote Dr. Todd,[3] a defence of the writer "against some undefined and not very clearly stated charges of presumption in undertaking his mission, and of incompetency for the work." The internal evidence of the authenticity of this document is fivefold; 1, the mention of decurions; 2, the use of the word 'Brittanniae;' 3, the quotations from an ante-Hieronyman version of the Bible; 4, the mention of a married clergy; and, 5, the agreement of the style with that of Gregory of Tours.[4]

Two citations from a text of the Confessio, now not not known to exist, are contained in Colgan's Quarta Vita, cc. I and XVII: "Ego sum Patricius Kalfurnij filius, matrem habens Conchessam" (*Trias Thaum.* 35, col. 1) and "Audiebam quosdam ex spiritibus psallentes in me, et nesciebam qui essent."

fol. 25, St. Jerome's preface to his version of the Four Gospels.

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[1] See also the citations by Muirchu (infra p. 494, l. 7) and those in Vita II. §§ 11, 13, Vita IV. § 11, Vita IV. §§ 1, 16, and the Tripartite Life, infra p. 21.

[2] Can it be 'Vita Patricii,' in No. 450, which is said to be a MS. of the twelfth century?

[3] *St. Patrick*, pp. 351, 352.

[4] See Prof. G. T. Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 28 note, 38 note. 'The organisation among Gallic and Roman Christians for the redemption of captives from the Franks,' to which he refers in the latter note, is evidence as to the date of the letter to Coroticus' subjects, but has nothing to do with the Confessio.

fol. 26–28, Ten Canones of the Concordances of the Gospels.

fol. 29–31, Breuis singulorum euangeliorum interpretatio.

fol. 31 b. 2–190, all the books of the New Testament, together with the apocryphal epistle to the Laodiceans. The Acts of the Apostles come at the end after the Apocalypse, and the epistle to the Colossians after those to the Thessalonians. Between the epistle to the Colossians and the first epistle to Timothy is inserted the epistle to the Laodiceans. In Matt. vi. 13, instead of the usual *et ne nos inducas in temptationem,* we have eτ . NH . πατIαρIC νώC . INδυκI . INτεμπτατιωNεμ.[1] (*et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem*[2]). In the Gospel of S. Matthew there is a lacuna between ch. xiv. 33 and ch. xxi. 5. In the same Gospel, ch. xxvii. 50, occurs a verse equivalent to John xx. 34; and in the First Epistle of St. John the passage (v. 7) concerning the three witnesses is omitted.

In fol. 38 a. 1, in the margin opposite Iudas Scariothis, Matt. x. 4, is the word *trógán* (wretch), and in the margin of fol. 64 b., opposite Mark xiii. 21, the word *kellach* is written in Greek characters. Here Bishop Graves supposes[3] a reference to Cellach, abbot of Iona, whose monastery was burnt by the Norsemen in the beginning of the ninth century.

fol. 191–200 a., Sulpicius Severus' Life of S. Martin, with a dedicatory epistle to Desiderius.

fol. 200 b.–220 b., Dialogues and epistles about S. Martin.

The Book of Armagh was transcribed from a MS. which even in the year 807 was becoming obscure, and of whose obscurities the transcriber more than once complains.[4]

Correspondence of the Tri-

Bishop Reeves says that the notices of St. Patrick contained in the Book of Armagh, fols. 2–20 are the

[1] See the fac-simile in Gilbert's *National MSS. of Ireland*, Part I., plate XXVIII.

[2] Such is the reading of the Book of Dimma: see facsimile H. in O'Curry's *Lectures*.

[3] Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, III., 356.

[4] Todd, *St. Patrick*, 347.

oldest and most authentic now in existence; and that all other biographies of him either borrow from or enlarge upon them. How true this is as regards the Tripartite Life will appear from a comparison of the following passages: partite Life with the Book of Armagh.

BOOK OF ARMAGH.	TRIPARTITE LIFE.
Patrick's birth and captivities, infra, p. 269, ll. 21–25; pp. 494, 495.	infra, pp. 8, 16, 22, 23, 24.
His journey towards Rome and stay with Germanus, p. 270, ll. 1–5; Brussels MS. infra, pp. 495, 496.	p. 25.
The ordination and death of Palladius, pp. 272, 332.	p. 30, ll. 11–24.
The ordination of Patrick.	pp. 30, 32.
King Lóiguire and the prophecies of Patrick's advent, pp. 273, 274.	pp. 32, l. 25–34, l. 16.
Patrick's visit to Miliuc, p. 275.	p. 34, l. 20, p. 38, ll. 1–3.
Miliuc's death, 276.	p. 38, ll. 3–18.
Patrick's celebration of Easter, pp. 276, 277.	pp. 40, l. 12, p. 42.
He is summoned to King Loeguire, p. 280.	p. 42, l. 27.
Erc's belief	p. 44, ll. 6, 23.
and the wizard's death, p. 281.	p. 44.
Patrick visits Tara, p. 282.	p. 46, l. 22, p. 52.
Dubthach believes, p. 283.	p. 52, l. 25.
Patrick's contest with the wizard Lucatmael, pp. 283–285.	p. 54, l. 18, pp. 56, 58.
Loeguire's conversion, p. 285.	p. 60, l. 6.
Maccuil's conversion, pp. 286–289.	pp. 220, l. 14, p. 222.
The heathen digging a *rath* on Sunday, p. 289.	pp. 222, 224.
The story of Dáre and the offering of Armagh, pp. 290–292.	pp. 228, 230.
Patrick's diligence in prayer, p. 293.	p. 124.
The dead heathen speaking to Patrick, p. 294.	pp. 124, l. 12, p. 126.
Patrick's horses found by means of a miraculous illumination, pp. 294, 295.	p. 126, ll. 9–13.

Book of Armagh.	Tripartite Life.
The angel Victor forbids him to die in Armagh, pp. 295, 296.	p. 252, ll. 6–11.
Angels wake Patrick's body, 297.	p. 254, ll. 4–22.
His burial in Downpatrick, p. 298.	pp. 252, l. 23, p. 254, l. 2.
A conflict for his body miraculously prevented, pp. 298, 299, 332.	p. 254, l. 22, p. 256, l. 7.
The imprint of the angel's feet in Scirit, pp. 300, 330.	p. 21, l. 19.
The bells, &c. carried into Connaught, p. 300.	p. 146, ll. 16, 17.
Patrick's four names, p. 302.	p. 16, ll. 21–24.
Miliuc buys him, p. 302.	p. 16, ll. 24–26.
The angel Victor tells him the ship is ready, pp. 302, 330.	p. 21, l. 7.
He comes to Inis-patrick, p. 303.	p. 34, l. 25.
Benignus enters his service, p. 303.	p. 36, ll. 1–6.[1]
The burning of the wizard, p. 306.	p. 58, ll. 15–26.
Corpriticus scourges Patrick's servants into the Sele, p. 307.	p. 68, l. 30, p. 70, l. 1, where the scourger is called *Coirpre*.
Patrick visits and baptizes Conall son of Niall, p. 307.	p. 70, l. 6.
He founds a church at *Vadum Molae* and leaves therein three brother and a sister, p. 307.	p. 72, ll. 6–10, where the ford is called Vadum duarum furcarum (*Ath dá laarg*).
Loiguire's inability to believe, p. 308..	p. 74, ll. 6–11.
The dispute among Amalgaid's sons, p. 309.	p. 126, l. 14, p. 128.

Hence to p. 126 the two works agree closely:

Patrick leaves Methbrain Barbarus, p. 311.	p. 92, ll. 12–15, where he is called *Mabran*.
The death of the charioteer Boidmal, p. 311.	p. 92, l. 20, where he is called *Buadmael*.

[1] Here the Irish Life in the Book of Lismore agrees much more closely with the Book of Armagh.

Book of Armagh.	Tripartitie Life.
Lóeguire's wizards bring darkness over Magh Ai, p. 312.	p. 92, ll. 26–28.
The stone altar in Sliab Hua n-Ailello, p. 313.	p. 94, ll.1–6.
Ono's gift (of Elphin) to Patrick, p. 313.	pp. 94, l. 28, p. 96.
The story of Assicus, pp. 313, 314.	p. 96, ll. 13–26.
Patrick founds a church at Dumacha Húa n-Ailella, p. 314.	p. 98, ll. 1–5.
Mathona and Rodan's relics, p. 314.	p. 98, l. 14.
Patrick's conversation with King Loegaire's daughters, pp. 314–316.	pp. 98, 100, 102.
Mael's conversion, p. 317.	p. 102, l. 27, p. 104, l. 7.
Patrick's visit to Ard Senlis, p. 317.	p. 104, l. 14.
The stories of Cethech, p. 318.	p. 104, ll. 16–23.
Ciarán's baptism, p. 318.	p. 104, ll. 28–30.
Patrick's Franks, p. 318.	p. 104, l. 31, p. 106, l. 6.
His visit to Mag Selce, p. 319.	p. 106, l. 23, p. 108. ll. 1–9.
His visit to Gregrige, p. 319.	p. 108, l. 10.
Adrocht takes the veil from Patrick, p. 319.	p. 108, l. 15.
Erc's sons steal his horses, pp. 319, 320.	p. 108, l. 23.
He returns to Mag Airthic and blesses a place in Tulach na Cloch,[1] p. 320.	p. 108, ll. 26, 27.
The fight between Tamanchenn's sons, p. 320.	p. 108, ll. 28, 29, p. 110, ll. 1–5.
Patrick's visit to Iarnasc and Locharnach, p. 320.	p. 110, ll. 8–13, where the names are, corruptly, *Ernaisc* and *Loarnach*.
He visits Topur Mucno and Cúil Tolat, p. 321.	p. 110, ll. 15–19, where we have *Tolaith* for *Tolat*.
He visits Mag Cacri, p. 321.	p. 110, l. 20, where *Cerœ* is the reading.

[1] Not *Liacc* as erroneously stated in p. 320, note 2.

Book of Armagh.	Tripartite Life.
He visits Mag Foimsen, p. 321.	p. 110, ll. 22–28, where the Irish (*rotairmesc*) enables us to correct Ferdomnach's Latin.
He visits Topur Stringille, p. 322.	p. 110, ll. 28–30, where we have *Topar Stringle.*
He visits Achad Fobuir and writes an alphabet for Senach, p. 322.	p. 112, ll. 1–7.
His forty days' fast on Cruachan Aigli, pp. 322, 323.	pp. 114, 116, 118, 120.
The death of his charioteer Totmael, p. 322.	p. 120, l. 25.
He visits Corcu-themne, p. 323.	p. 122, ll. 1–3.
The story of the well of Findmag, p. 323.	p. 122, ll. 4–15.
The resuscitation of the son of Mac Caiss, p. 324.	p. 122, ll. 18–28, where he is called Cass mac Glaiss.
The story of the cross on the heathen's grave, p. 325.	p. 124, l. 10, p. 126, l. 8.

Here the correspondence begins to be less close:

The death of the wizard Rechrad, pp. 325, 326.	p. 130, ll. 13–24, where he is called *Rechred* and *Roéchred.*
The baptism and fostering of Mac Ercae, 326.	p. 140, ll. 1–5.
Patrick visits Foirrgea mac n-Amalgodo and baptizes a child in his mother's womb, p. 327.	p. 134, ll. 10–13, where the land is called *Forrach m. A.*
Patrick's prophecy as to East Bertriga, p. 327.	p. 138, ll. 2, 3, where the name is spelt *Bertlacha.*
He writes an alphabet for Mac Rime and Muiredach, p. 337.	p. 138, l. 22, where *Brón* is substituted for *Muiredach.*
He gives a tooth to Brón, p. 327.	p. 138, l. 24.
He curses the river Dub and blesses the Drowes, p. 328.	p. 146, ll. 7–14.
He teaches Miliuc's children, p. 330.	p. 19, l. 15.
Miliuc's vision, p. 330.	p. 19, ll. 18–29.
The angel's traces, p. 330.	p. 21, l. 20.

Book of Armagh.	Tripartite Life.
Patrick visits the sons of Tuirtre, p. 330.	p. 168, ll. 5, 6, where they are called *Húi* T.
He visits the Maugdoirn and makes Victoricus a bishop, p. 330.	p. 182, ll. 8–19, where the tribe is called *Mugdoirn* and the bishop *Victor*.
He goes to Bile Torten and builds a church for the priest Iustan, p. 330.	p. 184, where the gen. sg. is Tortan (from *Tortu, Tortiu ?*) and the priest is Iustian.
He goes to Druimm Hurchaille, p. 330.	p. 184, l. 15.
He ordains Fiacc the Fair bishop in Sletty; goes through Gowran Pass; and founds a church in Roigne, p. 331.	p. 194, ll. 6–14.
He baptizes Nia-fróich's sons in Cashel, p. 331.	p. 196, l. 1, where for the gen. sg. *Nioth* we have *Nat*.
His three petitions for the Irish, p. 331.	p. 116, ll. 19, 25, where 'singing Patrick's hymn' is substituted for 'poenitentiam agens,' and '*Saxain*' represents 'barbarae gentes.'
His four points of resemblance to Moses, p. 332.	p. 114, ll. 4–7.
Lommán's visit to Trim and the conversion of Fortchern and Fedilmid, p. 334.	p. 66, ll. 14–29.
Patrick founds a church at Trim, p. 335.	p. 68, l. 1.
Lommán entrusts (*commendat*) his church to Patrick and Fortchern, p. 334.	p. 68, ll. 14–17, where *roaithni* represents 'commendat.'
Patrick goes to Druim Lias and leaves Benignus there, p. 338.	p. 144, ll. 18–25.
He meets Dubthach Maccu-Lugair and ordains Fiacc the Fair, p. 344.	pp. 188, 190.
He marks out Fiacc's monastery, p. 346.	p. 192, l. 2.
He sends to Sechnall, Manchán and Fiacc a chariot guided by an angel, p. 346.	pp. 240, l. 21, p. 242, l. 5, where *Cell Manach* is substituted for 'Manchán.'

Epistle to the subjects of Coroticus.

The next piece contained in the work is S. Patrick's epistle to the Christian subjects of Coroticus,[1] a Celtic chief identical with the 'Coirthech regem Aloo' of the Book of Armagh, fo. 20 b. 1. This king of Ail-(Clúade) or Dumbarton seems to have made a descent on Ireland, killed some neophytes on the day after their baptism, carried off prisoners to be sold as slaves, and derided the clerics whom Patrick had sent to implore that part of the plunder or some of the baptized captives might be restored. This epistle does not occur in the Book of Armagh; though from the heading in fo. 22, a. 1, 'Incipiunt libri sancti Patrici episcopi,' the scribe seems to have intended to insert it after the copy of the Confessio. It has frequently been published,[2] and is now printed (pp. 375–380) from the Cottonian MS. Nero, E. I., ff. 173 b. 2–174 b. 2.[3] The internal evidence of its authenticity is first, its style, which is quite like that of the *Confessio*;[4] secondly, its parallel passages, *e.g.*,

[1] The Old-Celtic form of the Irish *Coirthech*, pp. 248, 271. Dr. Todd, *St. Patrick*, 352, seems to equate *Coroticus* with *Caradoc*; but this is the Old-Celtic *Caratăcos*, Ir. *Carthach*. The name *Ceredig*, which Dr. Todd also mentions, would be in Old-Welsh *Ceretic*; and this name, followed by *guletic*, actually occurs in the pedigree of Run map Arthgal (Harl. 3859, ff. 193 b, 194 b), King of Strathclyde, in A.D. 878. Jocelyn (c. cl.) calls Coroticus or Coirthech *Cereticus*, but places him 'in finibus quibusdam Britanniae, quae modo *Vallia* dicitur," by which no doubt he meant Wales. The statements of Prof. G. T. Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 28), that 'the Irish invaded the principality [of Wales] and conquered it,' that 'Coroticus organised his countrymen,' 'defeated the invaders,' and pursued them 'across the Irish sea,' are more imaginative than accurate.

[2] See, for instance, the *Acta Sanctorum*, March 17th, Vol. II. (B.), whence it is reprinted by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., II., 314–319.

[3] There are two other copies in the Fell MSS., Vols. I. and III., the various readings of which are given by Haddan and Stubbs, ubi supra. The St. Vaast MS. used by the Bollandists is now, I believe, at Arras.

[4] Die Confessio und Epistola, die den besten Einblick in das Leben und den Karakter des Patricius thun lassen, sind nach Form und Inhalt einander so ähnlich, dass sie gewisz mit Recht demselben Verfasser zugeschrieben werden, C. Schöll, Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie, xi. 204.

368, l. 24 = 377, l. 33; 369, l. 22 = 378, l. 8; and thirdly, its quotations of an ante-Hieronyman Bible. The passage in p. 378, ll. 19–23, proves that it must have been written while the Franks were pagans, *i.e.*, before A.D. 496, and before they had crossed the Rhine and settled in Gaul, *i.e.*, before A.D. 428.[1] On the other hand the references to the apostate Picts (p. 375, l. 26, p. 379, l. 7) point to a date after A.D. 412, when Ninian converted the southern section of that nation. It is referred to in the Brussels MS. containing a copy of Maccu Machtheni's Memoir, see infra, p. 498.

Preface to the *Fáed Fiada*.

The preface to the Irish canticle called *Deer's Cry* (so styled because Patrick sang it when he seemed to the ambuscaders to be a deer), printed *infra*, p. 381, is taken from the copy of the Liber Hymnorum, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. This MS. belongs to the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. A list of its contents is given in *Goidelica*, pp. 61, 62. The preface seems to represent the lost passage of the Tripartite Life, of which Colgan's version will be found, infra, p. 48. It has already been printed in Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 32, and in *Goidelica*, p. 149. The canticle (which is furnished with a Latin antiphon) seems suggested by the *Benedicite*, and has some curious points of contact with the twelfth Assembly of Harîri. Its references to the 'black laws of heathenism,' the 'craft of idolatry,' and the 'spells of women, smiths and wizards' obviously point to a time before Christianity had been fully established in Ireland. This canticle is referred to in the Book of Armagh, fo. 16 a. 1, as "canticum eius [scil. Patricii] scotticum;" and one of its lines—*clúas nDé dom éistecht*, infra p. 50, l. 7—seems to have suggested the Milan gloss, 24 a. 18, *clúasa dæ' diar n-eitsecht intan mbimmi isnaib fochaidib*, "God's ears to hear us when we are in the sufferings."

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[1] Ferguson, *On the Patrician Documents*, p. 101.

Preface to Secundinus' hymn.

The preface to Secundinus' hymn, printed infra, pp. 382, 384, corresponds with the Tripartite Life, pp. 242–246, and is now for the first time printed.[1] It is taken from the copy of the Liber Hymnorum, formerly in the library of S. Isidore's, Rome, but now in that of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. Palaeographically this MS. seems to be as old as the copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. But some of its spellings[2] and grammatical forms[3] point to a considerably later date. It now consists of twenty-three leaves, in small folio, and is in a pasteboard cover, endorsed '9 vel 10 saecul. Liber Hymnorum S. Isidoro.' It is paginated from 1 to 46 in a modern hand. Here follows a list of its contents, which have not hitherto been accurately described.[4]

P. 1. 'Liber Hymnorum quos sancti Hiberniae composuerunt.' Thirteen lines of prose, beginning thus: Noempapa uasal oiregda robai isinRoim, da[r]bo comainm (C)lemens papa, ⁊ is de rofiarfaigh Iaronimus, etc. (there dwelt in Rome a holy pope, noble, distinguished, whose name was Clemens Papa, and of him Hieronymus asked, etc.). Five quatrains, beginning: Triar ríg táinic do thig De (three kings came to God's house), are apparently a poem on the visit of the magi to Bethlehem. But the writing is so faded as to be for the most part illegible.

P. 2. The Irish preface to the hymn *Altus prositor vetustus.* The preface agrees pretty well with that published from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, 204, 205, and in *Goidelica*, 100–102.[5] The forms *co-hopond, cucund, muiliund, roind, dorigned*, etc. are more modern than the corresponding forms in the Trinity College MS., *cohoponn, chucunn, muiliunn, roinn, doronad.*

After 'In te Christe' (*Goidel.*, p. 101, l. 41), the Franciscan copy (p. 2, col. 2) inserts: Loc dond immunsa recles Chol*uim*

[1] Colgan published a Latin translation of it in his *Trias Thaum.*, p. 211, which was reprinted by Dr. Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 25, 26.

[2] For example, *a* (for *i*) *Corcaig*, p. 16; *tangatar*, p. 29; *adnaiged*, p. 36; *go* (for *co*), p. 40; *na meirligh* (with aspirated *g*), p. 41.

[3] For example, *atchimit*, p. 29; *fogenaid*, p. 40; *tochelaid*, p. 36; *doraigais*, p. 37; *roeirlegait*, p. 40; *deochodussa*, p. 39; *tucsat*, p. 36.

[4] As to Prof. Zimmer's description (*Keltische Studien*, 1tes Heft, ss. 13–16), see *Revue Celtique*, vi., pp. 264, 265.

[5] For the Trinity College copy of the preface see Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, p. 256, and *Goidelica*, pp. 100–102.

chille i nHi. Persona Columcille. IN-amsir Aedan *meic* Gabrán ríg Goidel doronad . . . . Causa .i. do chunchid dilguda for Dia dona trib cathaib dorat .i. cath Cuile Rathin ⁊ Cuile Feda ⁊ Cuile Dremni.

'The place of this hymn was Colombcille's cell in Iona. The author; Colombcille. In the time of Aedán, son of Gabrán, king of the Goedil, was it made . . . . Its cause: to ask forgiveness from God for the three battles which he, Colombcille, had delivered, namely, the battle of Cúil Rathen and (that) of Cúil Feda, and (that) of Cúil Dremni.'

P. 3–9. The hymn. Prefixed to each chapter are a title and an argument such as those before c. 1: *IS he in titul*: De Unitate *et* Trinitate trium Personarum. IS hi immorro (*sic*) ind argamaint in chanóin forsa fothaigther in captel vt in Danielo vel in Essaia. *Uetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*

Dr. Todd has published the Trinity College copy (which lacks stanzas O to X inclusive) in his *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 209–209.

On the lower margin of p. 3, in a seventeenth century hand: Ex libris conventus de Dunnagall.

P. 5. On the lower margin, in a late Irish hand: Beand*acht* m*ac* Dabog mic Mæl tuili lesin leabarsa et ase Columcille docuir releghes iat fein a cath Cuildremne et o Mæltuili m*ac* Mælafithiu atait clann mic Mæl tuili .i. arslicht Neill Naingialaigh finit.

P. 9. The hymn *In te Christe* (Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 256, 257) with the following Irish preface: Columcille dorigne inn-immonsa tria rithim n-oscorda. Oc*us* is aire doronai, ar is bec rothaithmet Trinitatem isin molad remond, ar isbert Griguir ba dech do moltaib manbad sein.

'Colombcille made this hymn in vulgar rhythm. And why he made it was because he little commemorated the Trinity in the previous hymn. For Gregory had said that, but for that, it was the best of hymns.'

P. 10. The hymn *Noli Pater indulgere* (Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 262, 263), with the following Irish preface: Columcille doronai hunc ymnum tria rithim n-oscorda. i nDaire Cholgaig doronad. Aes d*icu*nt as lathe bratha dorat dia oeid . *no* tene na fele Eoin. *No* is do anocol indair(i) dia rolosced les (?) co . . . . . . iarna edbairt do Æd m*ac* Ainmerech, co rothrial in tene loscud and *con*id aire sin dorigned (in-tim)monsa. Oc*us* canair *fri* cach toraind. Oc*us* gibe gabas fo lige ⁊ fo ergæ (?) nosoerand ar cach tenid. Oc*us* nosoerand ar thenid gelan ⁊ in nonbur as ansu leis dia muintir.

'Colombcille made *hunc hymnum* in vulgar rhythm. In Daire Calgaig it was made. Some *dicunt* that he had Doomsday in mind, or the fire of (S.) John's Eve. Or it is to protect the oakwood when . . . . was burnt after it had been offered by Aed,

son of Ainmere, and the fire proceeded to burn there. Wherefore this hymn was made. And it is chanted against thunder. And whosoever repeats it on lying down and rising up it saveth him from every fire. And it saves from lightning him and the nine of his household who are dearest to him.'

The Trinity College recension of this preface is published in Todd's *Lib. Hymn.*, p. 262, and in *Goidelica*, pp. 103, 104.

P. 11. The prayer of S. John the Evangelist. *Deus meus et Pater* (Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 269–270), with a preface in Latin and Irish, beginning thus: IOhannes apostolus fecit hanc epistolam. Intan dorat Aristodimus sacerdos neim do in calicem icond rig, ic Domitian, dia romarbad[1] amal adfiadathar i Certamain Eoin. (The apostle John made this epistle when Aristodemus the priest put poison for him into the cup by the king Domitian, to kill him, as is set forth in the Certamen Iohannis.[2]) For the corresponding preface in the Trinity College MS. see Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 268, and *Goidelica*, pp. 104, 105.

The epistle of Christ to Abgarus, *Beatus es*, with a preface beginning thus: Iesus Christus fecit hanc epistolam dia raba rex Edisae ciuitatis qui dolorem pedis habuit. Co tucad epistil uad co Cr*ist* co ndigs*ed* dia acallaim oc*us* dia íc. Oc*us* (dorat) Tatheus in n-epistil dosum iar cessad Cr*ist*. Oc*us* iss e ron-ic. Oc*us* ataat in Edisa 7 . . . . . epistil 7 corop . . . . . cas indi . . . . nach n-eretecda bith fri re n-uare isin c(athr)aig-sin.

'Jesus Christ made this epistle when there was a king of the city Edessa who had an ailment in his foot. And a letter was brought from him to Christ (requesting) that He should go to converse with him and heal him. And after Christ's Passion Thaddaeus gave the letter to him, and it was this that healed him. And they are in Edessa . . . . golden; and no heretic (can) abide in that city for the space of one hour.'

The Trinity College copy of this epistle is printed with its preface in Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 268, 269, and the preface is also printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 105, 106. There is an Irish translation of the epistle in the Lebar Brecc, p. 146[c] of the facsimile; and see *Anglo-Saxon Homilies*, i. 71, and *Gesta Romanorum*, 154.

P. 12. The hymn *Audite Omnes*, with the Irish preface printed infra, pp. 382, 384.

P. 16. The hymn *Christus in nostra insula*, with the following preface: Christus in nostra. Ninnid Lámidan m*ac* Echach is

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[1] leg. marbad.

[2] *i.e.*, the Historia certaminis apostolici, attributed to Abdias, first bishop of Babylon: see Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 264.

e dorigne *hunc* ymnum .do molad Brigte. *No* is Fiac Slebte. Audite uirginis laudes is é a thosach. *No* is Ultan Aird Breccan dorigne do molad Brigte. ar iss e rothinoil ferta Brigte i n-oenlebor. Ord apgitrech fair. Tria rithim n-oscarda doronad. Cethri coibtil and *ocus* cethri line cecha coptil *ocus* se sillaba déc cech line.

'Lámidan son of Eochu, it is he that made *hunc hymnum* to praise Brigit. Or it is Fiac of Sletty. *Audite virginis laudes* is its beginning. Or it is Ultan of Ardbraccan that made it to praise Brigit, for he it is that collected Brigit's miracles into one book. It is in alphabetical order. In the vulgar rhythm it was made. Four chapters, and four lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line.'[1]

This hymn has been published by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 57, 58, from the Trinity College manuscript. The Irish preface in that MS. is printed, *ibid.*, p. 57, and *Goidelica*, p. 92.

The preface to Cummain the Tall's hymn, *Celebra Iuda*. This agrees with the preface in the Trinity College MS.,[2] except that for the Latin 'ille fecit hunc ymnum' we have 'doronai ymnum istum;' for 'donec uenit mater eius ad uisitandum eum ad domum abbatis Ita' we have 'co tanic a mathair dia fis do thig comarba Ite;' for 'Uenit autem' we have Tanic do*no*;' and for 'mo fiur,' 'mo fiar' we have 'mo siur,' 'mosiur.'[3]

P. 17. The hymn *Celebra Iuda:* printed from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 73–80.

P. 19. The prayer *Parce Domini*, with a preface agreeing with that in the Trinity College MS.,[4] but adding the following sentences: Co tanic *tra* buadir mor do fodeoid *con*id ed tarfás dó námait ic inret in phopuil, co ndeochaid im-muinigin in Choimded do sóerad in phopuil ara namtiu, *con*id annsin dorone 'Parce Domine.' *No* dno commad aire dogneth in n-imuns[a] vt diximus, arna tarta a chin-som for in popul (so then great trouble came to the people from their enemies, and then he composed *Parce Domine*. Or it may be that this hymn was composed, *ut diximus*, in order that his sin might not be visited upon the people).

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[1] Translated by Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, 545, col. 2.

[2] Printed in Dr. Todd's *Lib. Hymn.*, pp. 72, 73; also in *Goidelica*, pp. 93, 94. See also the Book of Leinster, p. 286 b. of the facsimile.

[3] In the second of the poems printed in *Goidelica*, p. 93, lines 13 and 14 are a prose gloss, and should have been printed thus: [.i.] *for*tso féin a [F]íachna, ar[is] tusu féin brathair do brathar.

[4] Printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 96, 97.

This prayer, which is an imitation in prose of one of the penitential psalms, is printed in Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 95, 96.

P. 20. The hymn *Hymnum dicat*, with a Latin preface beginning thus: Locus huius artis, spelonca in pectore montis Ionis[1] in qua ante philosophi fuerunt. Tempus, Noui Testamenti, uel post Neronem. Persona, Hilarius pictauensis.

This hymn, with a preface partly Latin, partly Irish, is printed from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 151–161. Muratori had published it from the Antiphonary of Bangor.

The Irish parts of the preface are printed in *Goidelica*, p. 98.

P. 22. The hymn *In Trinitate spes mea* with the following preface: Meicc Murchon do Chonnactaib doronsat in n-immunsa do Michel ara soerad [de] tempestate Mara Icht. *No* ara soerad de fame in insola Maris Te(rre)ni. Commad he da*no* Colman a óenur dogneth, ar rop he a sinnser hé, 7 da*no* epscop héside 7 sacairt in dias aile. Vel inter se fecerunt. IN quo tempore uero factus est (non certum) est. Tria rithim do*no* doronad, 7 óen captel dec and, 7 da lini in cech caiptiul, 7 coic(?) sillaba dec cecha coipti(l) [leg. line]. IS foc dno in rithim (doreir in omine dobith ann).

'The sons of Murchu of Connaught made this hymn to Michael to save themselves from a tempest on the Ictian sea. Or to save themselves from famine in an island of the Tyrrhene sea. It may be that Colmán alone made it, for he was the eldest of them and, moreover, he was a bishop, while the two others were priests. *Vel* etc. *In quo* etc. In rhyme, now, it was made, and it contains eleven stanzas, and two lines in each stanza, and fifteen syllables in each line. Now the rhyme is on *e* because of the *omine* that is in it.'

This hymn is printed from the Trinity College MS. by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 167–169. The Irish preface in that MS. is printed, ibid., p. 167, and *Goidelica*, p. 98.

P. 23. The hymn *Martine, te deprecor* with a preface closely resembling that in the Trinity College MS., which has been printed in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 172, and *Goidelica*, p. 99.

P. 24. The hymn *Benedicite opera omnia*, with an Irish preface printed and translated in the *Revue Celtique*, VI., 264–265.

This hymn and its preface do not occur in the Trinity College MS.

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[1] Now called Mount St. Bernard.

P. 25. The hymn *Christe, qui lux es et dies*,[1] with the following preface: Ambrosius súiepscop is hé doronai hunc ymnvm do molad in tslanicceda, ocus i n-aidche as dir a chantain. Tre rithim doronad. Sect captil and, 7 da líne cecha coptil, 7 se sillaba déc cech lini.

'Ambrose the sage-bishop, he it is that made *hunc hymnum* to praise the Saviour; and it is proper to sing it at night. In rhythm it was made. Seven stanzas in it and two lines in each stanza, and sixteen syllables in each line.'

This hymn and preface are also absent from the Trinity College MS.

P. 26. *Gloria in excelsis*, with a preface resembling that in the Trinity College MS., fo. 9ᵃ, save that for the last sentence, we have: Ambrois da*no* (do)ronai in tuilled (S. Ambrose then made the addition) .i. a secundo uersu vsque ad finem laudis. The hymn is printed from the Trinity College MS. in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 179–181; the preface, ibid., and *Goidelica*, p. 100.

P. 27. The Irish hymn *Sén De*, with the following preface: SÉN de. Colman *mac* Ui-Chluasaig, fer legind Corcaige, dorone inn-immunsa, 7 a scol immalle fris. Et commad lethrand ċech ḟir foe sin. *No* is a oenur dorone in n-immun. IS he im*morro* a loc, otha inn-inse co Corcaig corice in n-inse dia ndechatar for teched in tedma. I N-amsir im*morro* da *mac* Aeda Slane doronad .i. Blathm*ac* 7 Diarmait. IS he im*morro* tucait a denma: teidm mor doratat f*or* firu Erend .i. in Buide Condaill, *co* roindrestar Hérind uile 7 co na farcaib *acht* cech-thres duine i nHerind uile i mbethaid, 7 *con*id de atbathatar m*eic* Aeda Slane, 7 atbath Fechéne Fobair, et alii multi clerici et reges in eodem anno p*er*ierunt. *Ocus con*id dia n-anacul *cona* scoil dorone arin teidm sin Colman innimunsa, 7 is and dorala dosom a denom intan rotinscanastar ascnam co araile indse mara co mbétis .ix. tonna etarru 7 tir, ar ní thic teidm dar nói tonna, vt ferunt periti. Co roiarfaig araile don scoil do Colman: 'cia sen i tarla dóib dul f*or* set. *Con*id and atrubairt Colmán: 'cia sen tra,' ol se, 'acht sén De?'

'*God's blessing*.' Colmán son of Hua-Cluasaig, lector of Cork, made this hymn, and his school along with him. And it may be that there was half a quatrain for each man of them thereat: or it is alone that he made the hymn. Now this is its place, from Cork as far as they went fleeing from the pestilence. Now, it was made in the time of Aed Slane's two sons, namely, Blathmac and Diarmait. Now this is the cause of

[1] Printed in Mone's *Hymni Latini*, i. 92, where, however, there are only six stanzas.

making it. A great pestilence was inflicted on the men of Ireland, even the Buide Connaill, and it attacked the whole of Ireland, and it left alive only every third man in the whole of Ireland, and thereof Aed Slane's sons died and Fechéne of Fore died, *et alii etc.* And it was to save himself with his school that Colmán made this hymn. And it came to pass that he made it when he began to voyage to a certain island of the sea, so that there were nine waves between them and the land, for pestilence does not come over nine waves, *ut ferunt periti;* and a certain one of the school asked Colmán in what blessing they happen to go on the way; wherefore then Colmán said, 'What blessing,' saith he, 'but God's blessing?'

P. 29. The hymn *Sén Dé*. Printed from the Trinity College MS. in *Goidelica*, pp. 121–123, and in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, 122–131.

P. 30. The hymn *Cantemus in omni die*, with an Irish preface resembling that printed from the Trinity College MS., Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, p. 139; *Goidel.*, p. 97. For 'fecit hunc ymnum do molad Maire óge,' the Franciscan MS. has 'dorónai in n-immunsa ar molad Maire óge:' for 'arata rolcic arachaillecha' it has 'armatha rothreic arachallecha;' and for the last sentence it has: Tre rithim da*no* dorónad he oc*us* cethri coptil deac and, ⁊ da líne cecha cobtil, ⁊ coic sillaba deo in cech line.

The hymn has been printed by Mone (*Hymni Latini*, II., 383), and by Todd, ubi supra.

P. 31. The *Magnificat*, with a preface resembling that in Trinity College MS., fo. 9[b], which has been printed in Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 187, and in *Goidelica*, p. 100.

P. 32. The song of Moses, *Cantemus Domino*, etc. Exod. xv. 21, with a Latin preface. Song and preface are absent from the Trinity College MS.

P. 33. The *Benedictus* with a preface partly Latin, partly Irish, beginning thus: Benedictus. Zachair athair Ioh*ain* Babtaist dorone in n-immunsa. I n-Ier*usalem* im*morro* doronad (Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, made this hymn. In Jerusalem, now, it was made). The copy of this hymn and its preface, contained in the Trinity College MS. is printed by Dr. Todd, *Liber Hymn.*, pp. 191–193.

P. 34. *Laudate pueri* (Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, pp. 196–200), with preface, partly Latin, partly Irish, beginning thus: Neceta comarba Petair dorónai incantaicsc. I Roim da*no* doronad. (Nicetas, a successor of Peter's, made this canticle. In Rome, now, it was made). This hymn, commonly called the *Te Deum*, is also found in the Trinity College MS. fo. 10, where it is ascribed to SS. Ambrosius and Augustine. Its attribution in

the Franciscan MS. to Nicetas tends to show that this codex was once in the possession of Archbishop Ussher.[1]

Pp. 36, 37, 38. Fiacc's hymn, with preface and notes, printed infra, pp. 402–426. The Trinity College copy (Lib. Hymn., fo. 15[b]) has been published in *Goidelica*, pp. 126-128, and in Prof. Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 38.

Niníne's prayer, printed infra, p. 427. The Trinity College copy (Lib. Hymn., fo. 16 b) is printed in *Goidelica*, p. 132, and *Irische Texte*, p. 38, 39.

P. 38. *Brigit be bithmaith*, with Irish preface resembling that in the Trinity College MS., printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 133–135.

Pp. 39–42. *Ní cair Brigit*, with an Irish preface resembling that printed from the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum* in *Goidelica*, p. 137, and copious marginal notes, of which all that are now legible will be printed in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*.

Pp. 43, 44. Sanctáin's hymn (*Ateoch ríg*), with preface, partly Irish, partly Latin. The Trinity College copy (*Lib. Hymn.*, fo. 19[a]) is printed in *Goidelica*, p. 147, and *Irische Texte*, p. 52.

P. 44. A six-lined hymn to Sanctán, beginning: Epscop Sanctan *sancta* sruthib milid angel clothglan gel. The Trinity College copy is printed in *Goidelica*, p. 148.

P. 45. *Quicunque vult*, etc., with a preface (printed in the *Revue Celtique*, VI., 265) ascribing the composition of the Athanasian creed to the three bishops at the Nicene Council.

P. 46. Five illegible lines of Latin.

The alphabetic hymn of Secundinus, printed infra, pp. 386–389, from the MS. first described, was first published by Colgan in 1647 (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 210), and then by Ware in his *Opuscula Sancti Patricii*, 1656. Both these scholars seem to have taken their text from the Franciscan copy. **Secundinus' hymn.**

This hymn is found also in the Trinity College *Liber Hymnorum*,[2] fo. 1 a, in the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 238 b, of the

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[1] See Todd, *Lib. Hymn.*, 9, citing Ussher's epistle to Vossius, prefixed to his book *De Romanae ecclesiae symbolo apostolico uetere.*

[2] From this MS. it has been printed by Dr. Todd, *Book of Hymns*, Dublin, 1855, pp. 11–23.

facsimile, and in the so-called Antiphonary of Bangor, a MS. of the eighth century, preserved in the Ambrosian Library. From this MS. it was printed by Muratori.[1] The various readings of the Ambrosian copy, taken from a photograph, for which I am indebted to Abbate Ceriani, will be found infra, p. 669. This composition is in a metre identical with that of the hymn of Camelacus, a contemporary of Patrick's, with that of Hilary's hymn:

Ymnum dicat turba frátrum ymnum cantus pérsonet;

and (to go further back) with that of the song of the Roman soldiers, preserved by Suetonius:

Caesar Gallias subégit, Nicomedes Caésarem.

It differs from classical metre by resting, not so much on quantity as on the number of syllables and on accentuation, and it is distinguished from later Latin compositions by containing no rhymes.[2]

The internal evidence of the antiquity of this hymn is strong. First, the use of the present tense in describing the saint's actions; secondly, the absence of all reference to the miracles with which the Tripartite and other Lives are crowded;[3] and, thirdly, the absence of all allusion to the Roman mission, on which many later writers, from Tírechán[4] downwards,[5] insist with such persistency.

The *Lebar Brecc* preface to Secundinus' hymn.

The introduction to the copy of Secundinus' hymn contained in the Lebar Brecc, p. 238 of the facsimile, is printed infra (pp. 390–400), partly because it contains versions of some of the stories in the Tripartite Life

[1] Anecd. Ambros. iv., pp. 127–159. Reprinted by Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Lat. lxxii. 582.

[2] See the *Grammatica Celtica*, 2nd ed., p. 942, and *Revue Celtique*, vi. 337, 338.

[3] And yet Prof. G. T. Stokes (*Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 32) says of this hymn that it simply teems with miracles.

[4] Or whoever composed the passage in the Book of Armagh, infra p. 332, lines 33, 26.

[5] But with the important exceptions of Muirchu, the author of Fiacc's hymn, and Probus.

(see, for instance, that of Berach and Brig, pp. 246 and 398), partly because the text and translation published by Dr. Todd in his *Liber Hymnorum* are not very accurate. Its composition, according to Dr. Todd, has been ascribed "by the best Irish scholars" to "about the seventh or eighth century."[1] Such forms as *isin tech* (p. 392), *rorensat* (p. 390), *ro-erchoidigestar* and *ro-esredestar* (p. 392), *facbais* (p. 394), coupled with the quotation from Eochaid húa Flannucáin, who died A.D. 1003, point rather to the eleventh or twelfth century.

Fíacc's hymn (so-called) and the preface thereto are printed infra, pp. 402–410, from the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*. The preface is a version of the tale told in the Tripartite Life, infra, pp. 188–190. The hymn (of which the older copy in the Trinity College Liber Hymnorum is printed in *Goidelica*, pp. 126–128) is, like that of Secundinus, silent as to the Roman mission of S. Patrick. But it records his foreign education, and it mentions (vv. 8, 14, 16, 19, 34, 40, 48, 55) many miracles as having been wrought by him or on his behalf. Moreover, there are two forms of the legend that the sun stood still on Patrick's tomb. According to one the miracle continued for twelve days: according to the other, for a year. As Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 489, note 3) acutely remarks: "It is a strong presumption against the pretensions of the hymn of Fiacc to antiquity that it has given the legend in this extreme form." For these reasons it can hardly have been written by its reputed author, a contemporary of Patrick's; and this conclusion is confirmed (*a*) by the mention in ll. 30, 44 of the desertion of Tara, which event took place after A.D. 560; (*b*) by the mention (v. 52) of Secundinus' hymn as a *lorica*; Fíacc's hymn.

[1] Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 44.

(*c*) by the reference to tales (*scéla*) and *líni* (writings, lit. lines) as authorities for the saint's birthplace and education. A disciple of Patrick's, writing a few years after his master's death, would hardly have made such a reference. Furthermore, four verbal forms in the hymn are inconsistent with any very great antiquity. These are *tairchaintais*, v. 10, and *túargaib*, v. 12, which compound verbs in Irish older than the seventh century, would (as they are here used absolutely) surely have been *doairchantais* and *doforgaib*, with the accent on the second element: the *t*-preterite *dobert*, v. 27, and the pret. pass. *dobreth*, v. 1, which would have been *dorat* and *doratad*.[1] Lastly, the adverb *malle*, v. 33, would have been *immalle(th)*.

That the hymn was composed after, and probably with the aid of, Muirchu's Memoir has been argued by Dr. Loofs.[2] Both hymn and memoir are silent as to Patrick's mission from Caelestinus; both mention his stay with Germanus; and the agreement, not only in substance but in arrangement, between vv. 23–32 of the hymn and the part of the memoir printed infra, p. 295, l. 17, p. 297, l. 20, is remarkably close. And if, as Dr. Loofs, like Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 306), supposes, 'the other Patrick' (*in Patraic n-aile*) of the hymn, v. 33, was Palladius, we seem to have a reference to the words of Tírechán, printed infra, p. 332, l. 23. The obit of a Patricius (possibly = Palladius) is commemorated in the Roman martyrology on the 16th of March: the obit of our Patricius is commemorated on the 17th March. Hence (according to Dr. Todd) the hymn says, "Together they ascended to Jesus son of Mary."[3]

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[1] See Thurneysen, Rev. Celtique, vi. 328, 329.

[2] *Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiae quales fuerunt mores*, etc. Lipsiae, 1882, p. 44.

[3] Of the two Patricks mentioned together in the Stowe Missal, fo. 30 b, one is possibly this Palladius-Patricius.

On the other hand the hymn mentions only *three* privileges as having been conferred on Patrick,[1] whereas Muirchu's memoir speaks of four. It has therefore been argued that the memoir was posterior to the hymn. But the answer is that the hymn is (like Broccán's hymn about Brigit) a concise selection, not an exhaustive list, of the legends relating to the saint in question.

Prof. Zimmer has recently handled Fiacc's hymn;[2] and his mistakes have been duly exposed by Prof. Thurneysen.[3]

Notes on Fiacc's hymn.

The original of the curious notes on Fiacc's hymn, infra, pp. 412–426, translated by Colgan,[4] is now printed for the first time. They agree pretty well with the Tripartite Life; but contain the story of Germanus and the Pelagians (pp. 416, 418), further details as to Pope Celestinus (pp. 418, 420), and some statements (p. 496) as to Sen-Pátric. Such forms as *co Bretnaib*, 412, 28; *rogonsat, tucsat*, 414, 6; *ro-iarfaig*, 414, 26; *dochelaid*, 416, 3; *na druid* (nom. pl.), 422, 3; *in sliab*, 426, 6, show that they cannot be earlier than the eleventh century.

Ninníne's Prayer.

The prayer of Ninníne, which follows these notes, refers to Patrick's functions at Doomsday, and is, like the *Faed Fiada*, pp. 48–52, and the description of Conaire, in *Lebor na hUidre*, p. 91a, a specimen of the rhythmic but rhymeless poems of the ancient Irish, which Prof. Thurneysen has noticed in the *Revue Celtique*, vi., 347.

The *Lebar Brecc* Life of Patrick.

The next piece printed in this volume (pp. 428–488) is the homily on S. Patrick contained in the *Lebar*

[1] 1, His *ordan* (=ordinatio) to Armagh (v. 25); 2, Secundinus' hymn to be a lorica (v. 26); 3, the Irish to come to him on Doomsday to be judged (v. 26). To these three Muirchu adds (p. 296) a fourth, viz., salvation of Dichu's grandsons.

[2] Keltische Studien, 2tes Heft, 160–184.

[3] Revue Celtique, vi. 326–336.

[4] Trias Thaum., pp. 4–6.

Brecc, a MS. of the fifteenth century, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. This homily, which has never been published,[1] except in facsimile,[2] contains much in common with the Tripartite Life. But it adds (p. 432) Patrick's supposed pedigree. It supplies (pp. 440, 442, 444) the Irish text, or something very near the Irish text, which Colgan paraphrased (pp. 18–25), but which is wanting to each of the copies of the Tripartite Life. And it helps to complete the legend of Patrick by its account of the miracles mentioned in pp. 446, 458.

The mission of Palladius.

The shorter pieces printed in the Appendix may now be noticed. The first three (two extracts from Prosper Aquitanensis, and one from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) bear out the statements in the Tripartite Life (p. 30) as to the prior mission of Palladius. So do the extracts (p. 499) from the *Historia Britonum*, from Baeda (p. 501), from the Lebar Brecc (pp. 504, 554), from Marianus Scotus (p. 510), and from the Lebar na huidre (p. 560). The extracts from Cumean's letter (p. 494) and from the Luxeuil Calendar (p. 494) tend to show that in the seventh century Patrick's existence, which Ledwich [3] denied, was recognised. To these may be added, first, S. Columba's subscription to the Book of Durrow: "Rogo beatitudinem tuam, sancte præsbiter Patrici, ut quicunque hunc libellum manu tenuerit meminerit Columbae scriptoris qui hoc scripsi . . . . . . met euangelium per xii. dierum spatium;"[4] secondly, the hymn about S. Brigit, printed by Mone

Early proofs of Patrick's existence.

[1] A transcript with a translation was privately printed at Calcutta in 1877, in a volume entitled *Three Middle Irish Homilies*.

[2] Leabhar Breac, Dublin, Part I. 1872, Part II., 1876.

[3] *Antiquities of Ireland*, 1790.

[4] Cited by Bishop Reeves, Life of S. Columba, Dublin, 1857, p. 242, note i.

(*Hymni*, iii. 241) from an eighth century MS. at Basel, which speaks of her as "Electa, opta alumna Patricii cum prudentia;" thirdly, the hymn *Celebra Iuda*, ascribed to S. Cummine Fota (ob. 662), which contains the verse—

Patrici patris obsecremus merita
ut Deo digna perpetremus opera;

fourthly, the following rhymed *oratio*, extracted from Harl. 7653, fol. 7 *a*, *b*, a MS. written by an Irish scribe in (according to Mr. E. Maunde Thompson) the 8th or 9th century, and now for the first time printed:

IN pace Chr*ist*i dormia*m* ut nullu*m* malum uidea*m*
a malis uisionib*us* in noctib*us* nocentib*us*.
Sed uisione*m* uideam diuinam ac propheticam.
Rogo Patrem et Filium. Rogo [et] Sp*iritu*m *s*a*nctu*m.
Rogo noua*m* æclesiam. Rogo Enoc et Heliam.
Rogo patriarchas (duodecim). Rogo baptistam Ioha*nne*m
Rogo et bo(nos) (a)nge(los). Rogo et omnes apostol(os).
Rogo prophetas p*er*fectos. (Rogo) martyres electos.
Rogo (sanctu)m Patricium. Rogo *s*a*nct*u*m* . . . um.
Rogo mundi Saluator(em). Rogo nostru*m* Redemtore*m*.
anima*m* mea*m* saluare dignc(tur) (?) in exitu de corpore.
Te deprecor ut debeo ex intimo corde meo[1] ne derelinquas in inferno anima*m* mea*m*
Sed esse tecu*m* in cælo in sempiterno gaudio.

And, lastly, the *Cathalogus ordinum sanctorum in Hybernia secundum diversa tempora*, which Dr. Todd says was "probably drawn up by some author who flourished not later than the middle of the eighth century," and which begins thus:—

'Primus ordo sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant episcopi omnes clari et sancti et Spiritu sancto pleni .ccc.l. numero, ecclesiarum fundatores, unum caput Christum colentes et unum ducem Patricium sequentes, unam tonsuram [ab aure usque ad aurem] habentes et unam celebrationem

[1] MS. mei.

misse, et unum pascha, scilicet [quarta decima luna] post equinoctium vernale, celebrabant: et quod excommunicatum esset ab una ecclesia, omnes excommunicabant. Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant;[1] quia super Petram Christum fundati, ventum temptationis non timebant. Hic ordo sanctorum per quaterna duravit regna, hoc est a tempore Leodegarii [*sic*: leg. Loegarii], filii Neyl, qui regnauit .xxx^ta vij. annis, et Aylelli cognamento [*sic*] Molt, qui xxx^ta annis regnavit, et Lugdech, qui vij. annis regnavit. Et hic ordo sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathal Meylgarb duravit. Sancti episcopi omnes permanserunt; et hii pro magna parte erant Franci et Romani et Britones et Scoti genere.'[2]

V. The extracts from the Brussels codex (No. 64), containing Muirchu's Life of S. Patrick, printed infra, pp. 494, 498, supply the defects in the Book of Armagh caused by the loss of the first folio, and (in the case of the stories of Moneisen, Patrick's vision of heaven, and Coroticus), the carelessness of the scribe. This Brussels codex is a legendarium written in a continental hand of the twelfth century. It formerly belonged to the Irish monastery at Würzburg (Herbipolis). It now contains 310 double-columned folios. Muirchu's Life begins on

[1] Compare 1 Corinth. ix. 5, and the Old-Irish gloss on that verse in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, fo. 10^c.

[2] First published by Ussher, *Works*, vi. 477, 478, from MSS. now unknown; and reprinted by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 292; then by Fleming, Collectanea, pp. 430, 431, from another MS. (to me unknown), and reprinted by O'Conor, *Rerum Hib. Scrip.*, ii. 164; translated from Ussher's copy by Todd, *St. Patrick*, pp. 88, 89, note. The passage above printed I have taken from the so-called Codex Salmanticensis (Bibl. Royale, Brussels, Nos. 7672–7674), fo. 78^c. To the proofs above cited may be added the MSS. in St. Gallen, of which Schoell (Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*, xi. 209) thus writes: Noch in höheres Alter gehen einige Handschriften in St. Gallen zurück, z. B. Cod. 914, wo öfters, wie auch in anderen irischen Codd., Anrufungen der Heiligen Brigitta und Patrick eingestreut sind. Auch in einem alten *Fragmentum Lythurgiae Scoticae* wird Patricius als Patron Irlands genannt, und seine Fürbitte neben der der Apostel Petrus und Paulus angefleht. Diese Handschriften wurden wahrscheinlich von Irland aus nach St. Gallen gebracht.

the recto of fo. 299. The extracts printed infra were taken immediately from Mr. Hogan's edition in the *Analecta Bollandiana*. But in August 1886 I collated this part of his work with the MS., and, (except in two places which I had conjecturally[1] emended) found the former perfectly accurate.

Va. The mention of Patrick made by Adamnán (infra, p. 498) in his Life of Columba may be added to those above cited. Adamnán died about A.D. 704, and his Life of Columba is contained in a MS. in the Schaffhausen Stadtbibliothek, No. 31, written by Dorbbéne at the end of the eighth century. The passage cited, infra, from Bishop Reeves' edition, will be found in fo. 2 a 1 of the MS.[2]

Adamnán's Vita Columbae.

VI. The extracts from the *Historia Britonum*, taken from Harl. 3859, a vellum MS. of the eleventh century,[3] and printed infra, pp. 498–500, give a date for Patrick's arrival in Ireland, the story of his captivity, his visit to Rome, Palladius' prior mission, the sending of Patrick to the Irish by pope Celestinus, 'monente et suadente sancto Germano episcopo.' It also mentions Patrick's miracles (p. 500), his episcopal labours, his fast on Cruachan, his three petitions for the Irish; and, lastly, his four points of likeness to Moses. All this is consistent with the theory that the *Historia Britonum* was originally compiled about A.D. 822 by Marcus,[4] (a Briton by birth, but educated in Ireland) for the benefit of the Irish, and that one Nennius, a Briton of the

The Patrician legend in the *Historia Britonum.*

[1] For his "duximus" (Analecta, p. 550, l. 13) the codex has (rightly) "diximus," and for his "coturni cum," it has "coturuicum."

[2] In p. 498, infra, l. 35, *for* nobis, antiquis, expertis, compertum, *read* nobís, antiquís, expertís, conpertum.

[3] Wanley and Petrie assign it to the tenth. But Hardy (*Descriptive Catalogue*, 322) says "x. or xi cent."

[4] The title of the Vatican MS. (Regin. Christin. 1964) apparently of the tenth century, is, according to Petrie (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 1848, p. 64), Istoria Brittonum edita ab anachoreta Marco ejusdem gentis episcopo.

Latin communion, republished it, with additions and changes, *circ.* A.D. 858.[1] It has not (so far as I know) hitherto been observed that Marcus, or whoever was the compiler, drew part of his material either from the Book of Armagh or from one of its sources. Compare :—

Book of Armagh (p. 272, l. 20).	*Historia Britonum* (p. 499).
Sed prohibuit illum quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo.	sed prohibuit illum Deus per quasdam tempestates, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam de terra, nisi de celo datum fuerit.
(p. 273, l. 8).	(p. 499).
Tunc acceptis benedictionibus, perfectís[que] omnibus secundum morem . . . . uenerabilis uiator paratam nauim in nomine sanctae Trinitatis ascendit et peruenit Brittannias; et omissís omnibus ambulandi anfractibus . . . cum omni uelocitate flatuque prospero mare nostrum contendit.	(T)unc acceptis benedictionibus perfectisque omnibus, in nomine sancte Trinitatis, paratam ascendit nauim, et peruenit ad Brittanniam et predicauit ibi non multis diebus, et amissis [*sic*] omnibus ambulandi anfractibus, summa uelocitate flatuque prospero mare Hiberniam cum naui descendit.
(p. 275, l. 10.)	(p. 500.)
Consummato igitur nauigio sancto perfectoque, honorata (*sic*) nauis sancti cum transmarinís mirabilibus spiritalibusque tessaurís quasi in oportunum portum . . . . . dilata est.	Honerata uero nauis cum transmarinis mirabilibus et spiritalibus thesauris perrexit ad Hiberniam et baptizavit eos.

Compare also p. 330, ll. 10–30, with p. 500, lines 36–41.

Extract from the *Annales Cambriae.*

VII. The extract from the *Annales Cambriae*, in the same MS., printed infra, p. 501, may possibly help to fix the dates of the deaths of Patrick, Benignus, and other persons mentioned in the Tripartite Life.

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[1] Algernon Herbert in the *Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, Dublin, 1848, p. 18.

VIII. The extract from Baeda's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, printed infra, p. 501, has been already mentioned. The Moore MS., from which it is taken, seems to have been written A.D. 737, two years after Baeda's death. In line 4 of the extract the scribe first wrote 'inscottos.' But, as the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw (who, with his usual kindness, made the extract for me) wrote: 'The correction of Inscottos by underdotting with ad written above it is original, the in being probably an anticipation of the Inxp̄m just afterwards.' Baeda's mention of Palladius and Ninian and his silence as to Patrick are used by Schoell as an argument that in Baeda's time the legend of Patrick's Roman mission had not yet come into existence.

Extract from Baeda's Ecclesiastical History.

IX. The extract from the Carlsruhe Calendar, printed at p. 502, is given to show that in the ninth century Patrick was recognised as 'bishop and apostle of Ireland.'

Extract from the Carlsruhe Calendar.

X. The extract from the Rheims Litanies (infra, p. 502) shows that in the tenth century Patrick was invoked in Brittany as a Confessor, ranking not only with Brendan, Carnach, and other Celtic saints, but with Augustine, Jerome, Hilary, and Martin.

Extract from the Rheims Litanies.

XI. The tract on the origin of the Irish liturgy, of which extracts are printed infra, pp. 502, 503, was first published by Spelman, from whose *Councils* it has been reprinted, with a translation, by Dr. Moran.[1] It is entitled by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs "Account of the Origin of the Scottish Liturgy and of the British (after A.D. 429), assumed to be the same, tracing it through Germanus and Lupus, and distinguishing it from the Gallican: drawn up by some Scoto-Irish monk, probably in the 8th century." For the purpose of the present work it is important as confirming the tradition that Germanus and Lupus were Patrick's teachers. The MS.

Liturgical tract.

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[1] *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 243–246.

used by Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs (Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. i. f. 5) is a seventeenth century copy from Cotton MS. Nero A. II. 35, 'written,' says Mr. E. Maunde Thompson,[1] 'apparently in France, in the eighth century." Collation with the elder MS. shows that the following corrections are necessary in the portion printed infra :—

p. 502, l. 22, inperiti; ll. 33, 36, adfirmat.

p. 503, l. 2, conparem ; l. 10, Brittaniis et Scottiis; l. 11, vita beati Germani; ll. 13, 14, *per* eorum praedicatione[m] archepiscopum in Scottiis et Brittaniis; ll. 17, 20, Uuandilocus; ll. 18. 19, cerciter trea milia.[2]

Extract from Alcuin.

XII. Alcuin flourished in the latter half of the eighth century, and the extract from his Inscriptiones locorum sacrorum, c. 145, 'Ad viam SS. Patricii et aliorum Scotorum,' printed infra, p. 503, shows that Patrick was then regarded by the Anglo-Saxons as the chief of the band of Irish saints, comprising also Ciarán, Columbanus, Comgell, and Adamnán. Baeda had previously mentioned Patrick in his Martyrologium,[3] at the xvi. kal. Apr., 'In Scotia S. Patricii confessoris.'

Extracts from the *Félire Óengusso.*

XIII. The extracts (infra, pp. 503–505) from the metrical Calendar attributed to Oengus the Culdee, a composition, probably, of the tenth century, and the glosses thereon, refer not only to Patrick, but to Palladius (who is called *Torannán*[4] by the glossarist in the Lebar Brecc) and Sechnall. Sen-Phatraic is also mentioned and connected with Glastonbury.

Extract from the Drummond Calendar.

XIV. In the extracts from the Drummond Calendar (infra, p. 506) Patrick is called 'archiepiscopus Scottorum,' and Tassach, Erc, and Sechnall (Secundinus) are

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[1] *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II., Latin*, London, 1884, p. 54.

[2] So in the copy printed by Haddan and Stubbs, i. 138 et seq., *for* Trosimus *read* Trofimus (*i.e.*, Trophimus); *for* anathephonas et responsus *read* anthephonas et responsuria, etc., etc.

[3] *Works*, ed. Giles, iv. 45.

[4] *i.e.*, 'little thunder,' 'son of thunder.' This name may have been given to Palladius by the Irish because of his fiery zeal, and in imitation of the name (*Boanerges*) given by Christ to the two sons of Zebedee. But see Dr. Todd's note, *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 166, 167.]

named. This calendar is attributed to the latter half of the eleventh century.

Extracts from the Irish Canons.

XV. The extracts from the Irish Canons, printed infra, pp. 506–510, comprise all those that in Prof. Wasserschleben's collection are attributed to Patrick. The oldest MS. of this collection, that of Cambrai, No. 619, which is incomplete, was written before the end of the eighth century. The oldest complete MS., that of S. Gall, No. 243, belongs to the ninth century. Especially interesting are the canons relating to the duties of kings (p. 507), to the tonsure of Simon Magus (p. 509), and to cremation and cairn-burial, lib. xliv. c. 20, to which Mr. Warren has recently called attention,[1] and which runs thus: *Sinodus Hibernensis:* Basilion graece, rex latine, hinc et basilica, regalis, quia in primis temporibus reges tantum sepeliebantur in ea, nomen sortita est; nam ceteri homines sive igni, sive acervo lapidum conditi sunt. As to the collection in general, Wasserschleben says:—

> Die Abfassung der Sammlung ist wohl in das Ende des 7. oder den Anfang des 8. Jahrhunderts zu setzen, in eine Zeit, in welcher die irische Kirche nach langem Streuben sich an Rom angeschlossen hatte, und es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich dass der Urheber der Sammlung durch dieselbe neben der Anerkennung des *canones* und Dekrete der römischen Kirche die fortdauernde Geltung des nationalen Kirchenrechts und nationaler Anschauungen nach Möglichkeit zu erhalten und zu sichern bestrebt war.

Extracts from Marianus Scotus.

XVI. The extracts from the Chronicles of Marianus Scotus, printed infra, pp. 510, 511, (see the Corrigenda, p. 674), are taken from Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* VII., 481. The autograph manuscript, written about A.D. 1072, is now in the Vatican (No. 130), and would, probably, enable us to correct Pertz's text in some places. For instance, his 'seruauit sanctus Patricius precepto Victoris angeli quidam porcorum,' etc., should be 'seruauit S. P. praecepto Victoris angeli, que*n*dam porcorum,' etc. Compare the story in the Book of Lismore, fo. 3 b. 1:—

[1] *The Academy*, No. 782, p. 311.

'Atbert in t-aingel fris . . . . . Coimhetsa amarach araili torc ic claidhi in talman, 7 docuirfea bruth oir dhuit ass, 7 tabhuir ar do shæire (Said the angel to him: 'Observe to-morrow a certain boar rooting up the ground, and he will put forth a mass of gold for thee, and do thou give it for thy freedom'). And see infra, p. 416, lines 1–4. The rest of these extracts prove the currency in the eleventh century of the tales about Patrick's relationship through his mother, to S. Martin; his receipt from that saint of the monachal tonsure; his studies in the 'insula Alanensis;' and his mission from Celestinus.

The Corpus Missal

XVII. The Corpus Missal is a MS. considered by its editor, Mr. Warren, to have been written between 1152 and 1157. The points of interest in the extract printed infra, p. 511, are there mentioned in note 2.

The Annals in the Book of Leinster.

XVIII. The annals from the Book of Leinster, printed infra, pp. 512–528, are transcribed from the lithographic facsimile of that MS., pp. 24 a–26 b. The Book of Leinster is a compilation of the middle of the twelfth century, and the annals in question cover a period of about seven hundred years, from the reign of Loegaire to the time of Ruaidri, son of Turlough O'Conor. They are here printed as giving the supposed dates of the deaths of Old-Patrick, Benignus, and many others of his successors in the see of Armagh. The copy in the Book of Lecan mentioned infra, p. 512, note 1, begins thus:

Do flaithis Ereand o*cus* dia n-aimsearaib na rig o flaithi*us* Loegaire mec Neill co haimsir Ruaidri mec Thairrdealbaig hi Conchobuir. Rogob tra laegairi m*a*c lægairi (*sic*) m*a*c neill noigiallaigh rigi.

tricha an*n*is Regnum hibernie[1] post aduentum p*a*traci tenuit.[2]

[1] Petrie, *Tara*, p. 63, omits the words *Regnum hibernie*.

[2] Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 397) connects *tricha annis* with *rogob . . . rigi*, and translates "L., son of N. N., held the kingdom thirty years;" but this is contrary to the Irish idiom. The Book of Ballymote (p. 48[b] of the photographic facsimile) has: Lægaire m*a*c Neill .xxx. a*n*nis regnu*m* Hibernie post aduentu*m* P*a*tricii tenuit.

ard macha fu*n*data est.

Secundinus (.i. Sechnall) et senex patrici*us* in pace dormierant.

Fuair thra Lægairi m*a*c Neill iar*um* bas i nGreallach Da-fil for tæb Chaisi i Maig Lifi it*ir* na da chnoc .i. Eri 7 Albu ananmann. Aratha dorad fri Laigniu nach iarfad in boroma forro iarna gabail doib for creich occo, co tard-som grein 7 esca friu na saigfead forro ni bad siriu. Domarbsad iar*um* .i. grian 7 esca 7 na duile olchena, ara sarugud, *co*nad de adbeart:

Adbath Lægairi m*a*c Neill
for tæb Chaisi, glas a thir,
duile De rorædaid raith
tucsad a ndailbais do rig.

which may be compared with the story told infra, p. 566.

Then in the next column we find:—

IS a n- aimsir Lugdach im*morro* tanic Padraic in Er*inn* 7 dochuaid co Tem*raig*, co hairm a roibi Lugaid, 7 targaid do cruithnecht cen ar 7 bithlacht oc buaib re li*n*d, 7 nem a foircend a shægail, 7 son con 7 eich[1] 7 rigna fair. Oc*us* nir-' fæm Lugaid sin, 7 o nar'æm doeascain Patraic he, 7 rocascain a rigan .i. Aillind i*ngin* Ængu*s*a mec Nadfraich rig M*u*man: *co*nad osin inall ita dimbuaid rigna for Them*raig*, 7 cen buaid con for Tem*riag* fos. Co fuair Lugaid m*a*c Lægairi ba in-Achad Farcha tre [e]ascuine in Tailgind .i. farcha tenntidi do nim ros-marb iar ndiultad in Tailgind.

'Now in the time of Lugaid Patrick arrived in Ireland, and went to Tara, the place where Lugaid dwelt, and offered him corn without ploughing, and continual milk with the cows during his time, and heaven at the end of his life and luck of hound and horse and queen upon him. And Lugaid accepted not that, and since he accepted not, Patrick banned him, and banned his queen, even Aillinn daughter of Oengus son of Natfroich king of Munster. Wherefore from that day to this Tara suffers from unsuccess of queens, neither hath it winning by hound (or horse). And Lugaid son of Loeguire found death in Achad Farcha through the Adzehead's curse, that is, a fiery bolt from heaven killed him after he had rejected the Adzehead.'

But the same MS. (p. 49 a) contains another tract, entitled Comaimserad righ nEr*enn* oc*us* rig na cuigedh

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[1] MS. eith.

iar creitim annso ('a synchronizing of the kings of Ireland and of the kings of the provinces after the Faith, here'), which is more historical in character, and begins thus:—

Lægaire mac Neill .iiii. bliadna for Erinn intan tanic Patraic innte. Muiredach Muinderg for Ulltaib; is é robennach Patraic. Oenghus mac Nádfraich for Mumain arcind Patraic. Dinga-lach for Connachtaib. Bressal Belach mac Fiachach Baicheda ir-rigi Laigen, no comadh he Crimthan mac Enna, ut alii dicunt. Ni airmiter ri Osraide sunn ar chuimre co Scanlan Mor mac Fæladh.

iii. bliadna ar .xl. o thanic Patraic inErinn co cath Ocha hi torchair Ailill Molt, 7 dá ri for Erinn frisin re-sin, Lægaire 7 Ailill Molt. Trí ri for Ullto frisin re-sin .i. Mui[r]edach Muinderg 7 Cairell Coscarach 7 Eochaid mac Muiredaigh 7 æn-righ for Laignibh .i. Bressal Belach. Dá righ for Mumain, Oengus 7 Feidlimid a mac. Dá rig for Con[n]achtaib .i. Dui-galach 7 Eogan Bel mac Duach a mac.

Fichi bliadna o cath Ocha co ndechatar clanna Eircc meic Echach Muindremair i n-Albain .i. sé meic Eirc .i. Da Ængus, da Loorn, da Fergus.

'Loeguire son of Niall (had been) four years over Ireland when Patrick came into it. Muiredach Redneck over Ulster: he it is whom Patrick blessed. Oengus son of Natfraech over Munster before Patrick. Din-galach over Connaught. Bressal Belach son of Fiacha Baicheda in the kingdom of Leinster, or it may have been Crimthann son of Enna *ut alii dicunt*. For sake of brevity the kings of Ossory down to Scannlan Mór son of (Cenn-)faelad are not here mentioned.

'Forty-three years from Patrick's arrival in Ireland to the battle of Ocha, in which Ailill Wether fell. And during that time there were two kings over Ireland, Loegaire and Ailill Wether. Three kings over Ulster during that time, namely, Muiredach Redneck, and Cairell Coscarach and Eochaid son of Muiredach, and one king over Leinster, namely, Bressal Belach. Two kings over Munster, Oengus and his son Feidlimid. Two kings over Connaught, namely, Dui-galach and his son Eogan Bel mac Duach.

'Twenty years from the battle of Ocha to the going into Scotland of the children of Erc son of Echaid Thickneck, that is, Erc's six sons, two Oenguses, two Loorns, two Ferguses.'

The latter passage is cited by Dr. Todd as making Patrick's arrival (meaning of course his coming as a missionary) about eight years after the death of Celestine, which took place in 432, and as being, consequently, inconsistent with the story of the Roman mission. 'For the battle of Ocha, according to the Annals of Ulster, was fought A.D. 483, and therefore, counting 43 years back, A.D. 439 or 440, would be the date of Patrick's coming.'

Gilla Coemain's chronological poem.

XIX. Gilla Coemain, the author of the chronological poem printed infra, pp. 530–540, from the facsimile of the Book of Leinster, flourished in the eleventh century; and his poem is referred to by Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 396) as proving the existence of a chronology inconsistent with the mission from Celestine. Gilla Coemain counts 162 years from the advent of S. Patrick to the death of Gregory the Great, which took place on March 12, A.D. 604. Therefore the advent of Patrick, according to Gilla Coemain, must be dated A.D. 442.

Lists of S. Patrick's successors.

XX. The three lists of S. Patrick's successors in the see of Armagh, printed infra, pp. 542–548, are taken respectively from the Book of Leinster, the Lebar Brecc. and from the Bodleian codex, Laud, 610, commonly called the Psalter of Mac Richard Butler. A fourth list from the Yellow Book of Lecan (about A.D. 1390) is printed in Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 179. The first list gives some curious genealogical and topographical information. All the lists differ, not only from each other, but from the list which may be gathered from the Irish annals.[1]

Lists of relations of Irish saints.

XXI. The extracts from the lists of relations of Irish saints, preserved in the Books of Leinster and Lecan, and printed infra, pp. 548, 550, show the traditions as to

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[1] Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 172.

Patrick's family current when those MSS. were written, or perhaps some time before.

Chrono-logical tract in the *Lebar Brecc.*

XXII. The chronological tract in the *Lebar Brecc*, and printed infra, pp. 550–554, has already been published by Dr. Petrie in his book on Tara, pp. 74–80, as summarizing the following 'facts' about Patrick:—

1. That he was born in the year 372.

2. That he was brought captive into Ireland in the sixteenth year of his age, in 388, and that after four or seven years' slavery he was liberated in 392 or 395.

3. That on the death of Palladius, in 432, he was sent to Ireland as archbishop, having been first, according to some authorities, consecrated by Pope Celestine, or as others state, in Gaul, by the archbishop Amatorex or Amator.

4. That he arrived in Ireland in 432, and, after preaching there for sixty years, died in the year 492 or 493, at the age of about 120 years.

The mention of the death of Artrí, A.D. 832, and the occurrence of such Middle-Irish forms as *roforbanastar*, p. 552, l. 9, and *dá bliadain*, 554, ll. 21, 27, for the Old-Irish *fororbai, dí bliadain*, make it hard to attribute any great antiquity to this tractate. Dr. Petrie, indeed, assuming that its author was also the writer of the next tract in the same MS.—a catalogue of Patrick's successors—brings it down to A.D. 1100; and Sir Samuel Ferguson dates it A.D. 1095.

The Tale of Patrick and his leper.

XXIII. The tale of Patrick and his leper Comlach (= *Camulacos ?*), is printed infra, p. 556, as it elucidates the corresponding passage of the Tripartite Life, infra p. 83, lines 1–21.

The Michaelmas sheep.

XXIV. The story of the Michaelmas sheep, printed infra, pp. 555, 558, is given as a specimen (hitherto unpublished) of the fables that grew up about S. Patrick, and also as suggesting the real nature of the sanction of the practice of 'fasting on' debtors to God or man,

which is referred to in the Tripartite Life. See infra, p. 248, ll. 22, 23.

XXV. The note about the Martinmas pig, infra, p. 560, is given as connecting Patrick with Martin, and as accounting for the practice of killing swine on the eve of S. Martin's feast. The Martinmas pig.

XXVI. The extract from *Lebor na hUidre* (infra, p. 560), a MS., of which the scribe was killed A.D. 1105, is taken from an ancient translation of the *Historia Britonum*, and shows the tradition prevalent when that work was composed, as to Patrick's connexion with Germanus, and the date of his arrival as a missionary in Ireland. Patrick's connexion with Germanus.

XXVII. The legend from the *Lebor na hUidre*, printed infra, pp. 562–566, is printed as the oldest producible evidence of the tradition connecting Patrick with the revision and arrangement of the ancient laws of Ireland. To the same effect is the article *Nos* cited, infra, p. 571, from Cormac's Glossary. Patrick's connexion with the Brehon laws.

XXVIII. The other extracts from this Glossary, infra, pp. 568, 570, refer to Patrick's British assistants in the conversion of Ireland: exhibit him as abolishing certain magical practices; and seem to show (p. 570) that in his time the Gael were established in parts of what is now Wales and south-west England. Extracts from Cormac's Glossary.

XXIX. The extracts from Tigernach, the most trustworthy[1] and illused of Irish chroniclers, who died A.D. 1088, help to fix the date of Patrick's birth, captivity, and death. The part of the chronicle in which the other incidents of Patrick's career were mentioned is Extracts from Tigernach.

[1] He is, so far as I know, the only Irish, indeed the only mediaeval, chronicler honest enough to confess that some of his materials were uncertain: 'Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaeth incerta erant.' There is a similar passage in Irish in some synchronisms in the Book of Ballymote, p. 9*b* of the facsimile.

unfortunately lost. These extracts are taken, not from O'Conor's inaccurate edition,[1] but from Rawl. B. 488,[2] a MS. probably written in the thirteenth century, which formerly belonged to Sir James Ware and is now in the Bodleian library.

List of Patrick's household.

XXX. The list of Patrick's household, printed infra, p. 574, from the Lebar Brecc, agrees with those printed in pp. 265, 267, from Egerton 93 and the Book of Leinster. It cannot be safely regarded as older than the tenth or eleventh century. A metrical version of this list is contained in the Book of Lecan, fol. 44 b, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 448. The metrical version adds the names of Brogan, the scribe of Patrick's school, and of the priest Logha or Lughna, the saint's helmsman.

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[1] Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, II., 1–314.

[2] Misprinted "438," infra p. 257.

IV. The Personal History of S. Patrick.

Before attempting to set forth the few ascertainable facts relating to the personal history of our saint, the documentary proofs on which it rests must be classified according to their relative antiquity and consequent authenticity, remembering always that late documents may embody early records, and that statements made by modern but cautious chroniclers like Tigernach are at least as likely to be true as those made by ancient but credulous hagiographers such as Muirchu and Tírechán.

The Fifth Century.

1. Patrick's own compositions - - - -
   - *a.* The Confessio, infra, pp. 357–375.
   - *b.* The letter to the subjects of Coroticus, pp. 375–380.
   - *c.* The Dicta Patricii, p. 301; and, perhaps,
   - *d.* The *Féed Fíada*, pp. 48, 50, 52.
2. The hymn of Secundinus, pp. 386–389.

The Sixth Century.

The subscription to the Book of Durrow (supra, p. cxiv).

The Seventh Century.

1. Cummean's letter, p. 493.
2. The Luxeuil Calendar, p. 493.
3. Tírechán's Collections, pp. 302–304.
4. Muirchu's Memoir, pp. 269–301.
5. Adamnán's Life of Columba, p. 498.
6. The hymn of S. Cummine Fota, supra, pp. cv, cxv.

The Eighth Century.

1. Fíacc's hymn, infra, pp. 404–410.
2. Ninníne's prayer, p. 426.
3. The Liturgical Tract, pp. 502, 503.
4. The Canons ascribed to Patrick, pp. 506–510.[1]
5. Alcuin's verse, p. 503.
6. Baeda, Martyrol. xvi. Cal. Ap.
7. The Basel hymn concerning Brigit, supra p. cxv.
8. The Catalogue of the three Orders of Irish Saints, supra, p. cxv.

The Ninth Century.

1. The Additions by Ferdomnach, infra, pp. 334–351.
2. The Liber Angueli, infra, pp. 352–356.
3. The Harleian hymn, supra, p. cxv.
4. The Carlsruhe Calendar, infra, p. 502.
5. The Patrician legend in the Historia Britonum, infra, pp. 498–500.
6. Hereric's (or Heiric's) work on the miracles of Germanus of Auxerre.[2]
7. Colgan's Quarta Vita: 'Ex veteri Cod. Pergam. MS. Alnensis coenobij.'[3]
8. To these may be added the martyrologies of Wandelbert of Treves, and Adon of Vienna, in each of which Patrick's name occurs at the xvi. kl. Ap.

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[1] The collection published by Wasserschleben does not embrace the canons ascribed to a synod of bishops (Patrick, Auxilius and Isserninus) published by Spelman, and others from MS. C.C.C.C. 279 (olim O. 20). These canons, though in their collective form certainly not older than the eighth century, refer to clerics who do not cover turpitudinem uentris et nuditatem, and to Christians who consult a diviner (*haruspicem*) and believe that there is a witch (*lamiam*) in a mirror (MS. *saeculo*, leg. *speculo*).

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, July 31. Hereric wrote under Charles the Bald. He gives the legend of Germanus sending his disciple Patrick to Celestine, and Celestine sending him to Ireland. But, as Schöll observes, (Herzog's Real-Encycl. 11, 208) there is nothing of all this in the much older life of Germanus ascribed to Constantius.

[3] Ibid., 296, 323. This seems to be the folio twelfth century MS. now in the Phillips library at Cheltenham, numbered 4705. See Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 69.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

1. The Rheims Litanies, infra, p. 502.
2. The Calendar of Oengus, pp. 503–505.
3. The Martyrology of Tallaght.
4. Cormac's Glossary, pp. 568, 570.
5. Colgan's Secunda Vita: 'Ex membranis Monasterij S. Huberti in Arduenna.'[1]
6. Colgan's Tertia Vita: 'Ex vetustis membranis Biburgensibus in Bauaria.'[2]
7. Probus. Colgan's Quinta Vita, B. Patricij primi prædicatoris et Episcopi totius Britanniæ (*sic*) vita, et actus, Authore Probo. There are, according to Hardy, two thirteenth century MSS. of this Life in England, one in the Bodleian, 285 (2430), ff. 143–149, the other in the University Library, Cambridge, Ff. 1. 27. 21. Neither of them begins in the same way as Colgan's copy,[3] and as regards the Bodleian MS. I have ascertained that the rest varies greatly from the copy found by Colgan. In fact it is a different work.

To the tenth century also we may perhaps ascribe the legends about Patrick's connexion with the Senchas Már. One of these is printed from the Lebor na hUidre, infra, pp. 562, 564. Another in Harleian MS. 432, is printed in *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I. 4–18.[4]

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1. The Drummond Calendar, infra, p. 506.
2. Marianus Scotus, pp. 510, 511.
3. The Irish scholia on Fiacc's hymn, pp. 412–426, and *Goidelica*, pp. 128, 129.
4. Tigernach's Annals, infra, p. 572.
5. Gilla Coemáin's Chronological Poem, pp. 530–540.
6. The *Annales Cambriae*, p. 501.
7. THE TRIPARTITE LIFE, pp. 3–266.
8. The Chronological Tract in the Lebar Brecc, pp. 550–554.

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[1] See Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 288, 293, 340, 344.

[2] Ibid., pp. 322, 342.

[3] As to Probus' Life, see Todd, ubi supra, pp. 324, 343. Ferguson, *Patrician Documents*, p. 125. Robert, *Étude Critique*, pp. 62, 63.

[4] The text is very corrupt (the MS. belongs to the 16th century), and such forms as *rogabustar*, *romarbustar*, *roaemustar*, *aderuitsem*, *acedoir*, are distinctly Middle-Irish. But consider the Old Irish forms in Dubthach's poem, pp. 10, 12, and in the subsequent prose, e.g., *amal do-n-airchechain*, p. 16.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

1. Siegbert's Chronicle.
2. The Corpus Missal, p. 511.
3. The Annals in the Book of Leinster, pp. 512–528.
4. The preface to Secundinus' hymn, pp. 390–400.
5. The lists of the relations of Irish saints, pp. 548–550.
6. The list of Patrick's household, pp. 266, 573.
7. The lists of Patrick's successors, pp. 542–548.
8. The Martyrology of Marianus Gorman, written during the life of Gilla mac Liac, *i.e.*, between 1156 and 1173. Of this the only known copy, in the handwriting of Michel O'Clerigh, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royal, Brussels. At 17 March Patrick is thus mentioned:

Pat*r*aicc apstol Herend
cend creitme nanGaoidheal.

At 24 August we have:

Patrici*us* tend togaim,

with the gloss .i. Seanphatraicc ó Rosdeala iMoigh Lacha et oGhlaiss nanGaoidheal, cathair isidhe indeisc*ert* Sax*an*, in-aittreabhdaoís Gaoidhil iarndul díanailithre, 7 atát athaisi i n-iol*adh* Shenpat*r*aic inArdmacha;

And at Nov. 27:

Sechnall mór mac uBaird,

with the gloss; óDomnach Seachnaill i ndeiscert Bregh, do Longbard*aibh* dó, et Secundin*us* a ainm, mac do Liamain siur Pátr*aic* é, 7 robái ina priomhaidh in Ardmacha.

9. Jocelin.[1] This is Colgan's Sexta Vita S. Patricii . . . Authore Iocelino Monacho Furnesio. It was written between 1183–1185, and has been published by Colgan and the Bollandists.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

1. The Annals of Inisfallen, Rawl., B. 503.
2. The Annals of Boyle (a compilation of the thirteenth century).[2]
3. The tracts in the Book of Lecan, supra, p. cxxiii.
4. The extracts from the Lebar Brecc:—
   a. The homily on S. Patrick, infra pp. 430–488.
   b. The notes on the Calendar of Oengus, pp. 503–506.

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[1] As to Jocelin's Life, see *ibid.*, 327.

[2] O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar* p. 444.

All the facts that can be stated with certainty about S. Patrick are these:—

He was born in the latter half of the fourth century, and was reared a Christian. He had relations (*parentes*) in the Britains, and he calls these Britains his 'patria' (p. 370, l. 11). His father, Calpornus or rather Calpornius,[1] son of Potitus,[2] was both a deacon and a decurio, and therefore belonged to a Roman colony. Potitus was son of a deacon named Odissus. Patrick's father lived at a place called Bannauem Taberniae, near which he had a small farm, and there, in his sixteenth year, Patrick was taken captive. His captors took him to Ireland, with several others.[3] There he was employed in herding sheep or swine,[4] and devoted himself greatly to prayer. When he had remained six years with his master he ran away and embarked at some place about two hundred miles distant. After a three days' voyage he landed, and for twenty-eight days journeyed through a desert to his home.

Again, after a few years, but while he was still a young man (*puer*), he was in the Britains with his parents, when he dreamed that he was summoned to Ireland, and awoke much pricked at heart.

He gave up home and parents and *ingenuitas* (that is, the status of a free man born free) [5] to preach the Gospel to the Irish tribes. His motives, he says, were the

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[1] The derivative Kalpurnianus, Hübner, C. I. L. vii., No. 679, points to *Calpurnius* as the true spelling.

[2] The derivative *Potitianus* occurs ibid., No. 1536 (842).

[3] Patrick says (in his rustic Latin) *cum tot milia hominum*. So in the letter to Coroticus (p. 378, l. 22) *cum tot millia solidorum*, and in the Confessio (p. 372, l. 8) *baptizaui tot milia hominum*. Such phrases are mere Celtic exaggerations.

[4] The Confessio says sheep (*oues*). All the Irish authorities say swine (*sues*). I have little doubt that Patrick honestly wrote *sues*, and that the transcriber, by substituting *o* for the initial *s* changed this into the Latin word for the more respectable animal.

[5] He twice refers to this. Was *ingenuitas* forfeited by voluntarily leaving the Roman empire?

Gospel and its promises, and Secundinus adds, that he received his apostleship from God, and was sent by God as an apostle, even as Paul. He travelled through the Gauls and Italy, and spent some time in the islands in the Tyrrhene sea (p. 301). One of these appears to have been Lerina, or St. Honorat.

He had been ordained a deacon, probably a priest,[1] and, at some time in his career, a bishop.

Long after the dream above mentioned, and when he was almost worn out ('prope deficiebam,' p. 365), he returned to Ireland (whether for the first or the second time will be afterwards considered), and travelling through the remotest parts of the country, he made known the faith to the Irish tribes, of whom he baptized 'many thousand men.' The Lord's flock, he says (p. 378), 'was increasing rapidly,' and he could not count the sons of the Scots and the kinglets' daughters who were becoming monks and virgins of Christ. He also ordained clergy and taught at least one priest from his infancy. His success excited the jealousy of the rhetoricians of the Gauls, in which country he had brethren (*fratres*).

His writings.

Towards the close of his career ('*in senectute mea*'[2]) he wrote the *Confessio*, Declaration, or Apologia pro vita sua. He also wrote the *offenes Sendschreiben* concerning Corotīcus; but when does not appear. The mention therein of apostate Picts and of pagan Franks, points (as I have said) to some time between the years 412 and 496. I have above suggested that Patrick wrote a third work, which Tírechán calls *Commemoratio Laborum*, but which does not now exist. Various poems in the Irish language are ascribed to him in the Tripartite Life; and a MS., the Bibliothèque Royale (5100–4, pp. 48,

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[1] See the subscription to the Book of Durrow, supra p. cxiii. and the legend in Probus, infra. But the title of presbyter was often indifferently given to bishops and priests (Todd, *S. Patrick*, 336); and Patrick may have been ordained bishop *per saltum* as he himself is said to have ordained Fiacc.

[2] infra, p. 359, l. 26.

49), contains three others, of one of which the first eight lines are found in the Vatican codex of Marianus Scotus.[1] They are doubtless as apocryphal as most of those mentioned by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 214, 215.

As to Patrick's religious opinions, something like a creed appears in the Confessio, infra, p. 358. He attributes the creation of all things to the Son. The Son pours into us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the *pignus inmortalitatis.* The Holy Ghost makes us sons of God and joint heirs with Christ. We confess and worship the Holy Ghost, one God 'in the Trinity of the sacred Name.' Patrick here makes no mention of the consubstantiality of the Son; of Christ's burial and descent into hell; of the resurrection of the body. But some of these omissions may be supplied from the *Fáed Fiada,* if it really be Patrick's composition, for this expressly mentions Christ's burial and resurrection; and Secundinus (infra p. 389) expressly states that Patrick 'teaches the one Substance in three Persons.' He had a reverent affection for the Church of Rome; and there is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees (in pp. 356, 506, infra), that difficult questions arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the apostolic see. His creed.

He was well versed in the Latin scriptures, both canonical and apocryphal, and though he speaks contemptuously of his own learning, his Latin is not much more rustic than that of Gregory of Tours. To judge from his 'lession,' p. 301, he knew little or no Greek. Irish, of course, he learned during his six years of bondage. His learning.

He was modest, shrewd, generous, enthusiastic, with the Celtic tendency to exaggerate failure and success. Like S. Paul, he was desirous of martyrdom. He was physically brave, and had strong passions, which he His character.

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[1] See Pertz, vii. 481, and Grammatica Celtica, 961.

learned to control.[1] He speaks (p. 367) of twelve *pericula* in which his *anima* was ventured, besides many snares (ambuscades ?) and things which he was unable 'verbis exprimere.'[2]

This is all that can be stated with certainty about Patrick, his life, writings, creed, learning, and character. When and where he was born: his mother's name: his baptismal name: where he was captured: when and by whom he was educated: when and by whom he was ordained: when he returned to Ireland: whether he afterwards left that country: whither he travelled as a missionary: the date of his death: the place of his burial: on each of these points we have only the statements, sometimes discrepant and often obviously false, contained in—

(*a.*) The series of religious romances called the Lives of S. Patrick, of which the earliest was written nearly two centuries after the saint's death.[3]

(*b.*) The liturgical tract, pp. 502, 503, drawn up in France, probably, in the eighth century.

(*c.*) Chronicles, of which the earliest was written about six centuries after the saint's death, and the least untrustworthy (Tigernach's) is defective.

(*d.*) Scholia, tracts, poems, and prefaces, the oldest not older than the eleventh century, and oral traditions, as to which it is now impossible to say whether they were not originally derived from one or other of the written documents above referred to.

Of these statements the following are the least improbable.

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[1] Compare Fiacc's hymn, v. 4.

[2] Perhaps the lusts of the flesh, to which he refers, p. 370, l. 370: sed caro inimica semper trahit ad mortem, id est ad inlecebras inlicitate [leg. inlicitas ?] perficiendas.

[3] Some of the statements in these stories are due to the love for certain numbers (three, three score, three fifties, 300, 3000, four, and the astronomical numbers seven and its multiples: twelve and its multiples, and 365: others to a desire to assimilate Patrick to Moses. See Schoell ubi supra, and the index, infra, s. vv. four, seven, three, twelve.

Patrick was born about the year 373, at Nemptor, an Old-Celtic *Nemetoduron*, which may have been the older name for *Ail Cluade* ('Rock of Clyde[1]'), now Dumbarton, just as *Nemptodorum* or *Nemptudorum*[2] (= Old-Celtic *Nemetodūron*) seems to have been in the fifth century the name of Mont Valérien,[3] at the foot of which now stands the town of Nanterre. The valley of the Clyde was then Cymric territory, the name *Nemptor* seems to occur as *Nentor* in the Welsh poem with which the Black Book of Carmarthen begins,[4] and Sucat[5] the saint's baptismal name, is the Modern Welsh *hygad* (warlike), and was the appellation of a Cymric wargod, some of whose exploits may have helped to form the legend of our saint. His father's name was (as we have said) Calpurnius, his mother was Concessa, his foster-father or tutor Patricius, afterwards distinguished as Sen-Patraic, 'Patrick senior.'

The place where Patrick was captured (about A.D. 390), Bannavem Taberniae, has not been identified, but was probably somewhere on the western sea-coast (*armorica*) of North Britain. His captors took him to the north-east of Ireland and sold him to a chief named Miliuc (gen. Milcon), who named him Cothraige, the Irish reflex of the Old-Celtic Caturīgios,[6] and employed him in herding swine in the valley of the Braid, near Slemmish. After six years—when he was therefore in his twenty-third year—he escaped, and returned to his family in Britain. As to what he did during the next thirty-seven years—*i.e.*, from A.D. 396 to 432—it is impossible to offer anything but conjectures more or less plausible. The current

[1] Adamnán's *Petra Cloithe*.

[2] Greg. Tur. Opera, ed. Arndt et Krusch, pp. 439, 902. Gregory's words are 'in vico Nemptudoro' (or –todoro).

[3] 11 kilomètres N.W. of Paris.

[4] *Rac deu-ur i Nentur y tirran*, where Mr. Skene (*Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. 3), reads *Neutur*.

[5] As the gen. sg. *Succait* occurs in the Book of Ballymote, p. 360, a. 35, the name seems to have been borrowed by the Irish.

[6] The legend about Patrick serving four households, arose from a popular etymology: *Cothraige* from *cetharthige*.

tradition is that, after a second captivity, which lasted only two months, he betook himself to the best schools of the west of Europe, and first came to Ireland to preach the Gospel in the sixtieth year of his age. But against this four objections may be urged. First, if Patrick had been absent from Ireland in Gaulish schools from the age of 23 to the age of 60 he would certainly have forgotten Irish, which language he seems to have known well on returning to that country. Secondly, he would have learned to write better Latin than that of the *Confessio* and the letter to Coroticus, and he would not have complained by implication that he had not been *in sermonibus instructus et eruditus.* Thirdly, it is improbable that an ardent nature like his, spurred by visions and eager to annex a new territory to the kingdom of Christ, would have postponed his attempt for thirty-seven years. And, fourthly, this alleged long absence from Ireland is plainly inconsistent with Patrick's own words (infra, p. 371, ll. 24, 25): Vos scitis et Deus qualiter apud uos conuersatus sum *a iuuentute mea,* et fide ueritatis et sinceritatis cordis (Ye know, and God knows, how I have lived among you from my youth up, both faithful in truth and sincere in heart). It is impossible to see, with the Rev. Mr. Olden,[1] in the words *a iuuentute mea* a mere reference to the six years of his youth which he spent in captivity. It therefore seems probable that Patrick, after his escape from his second captivity, studied in Gaul until he was fit for ordination as a priest, that he was ordained by a Gaulish bishop, and that he then, moved, it may be, by one of the visions which he had so often, returned to Ireland and commenced his work as a missionary. All this is in accordance with Probus,[2] who gives the bishop's name as Senior. The story told by Probus is as follows:—

Objections to the current tradition.

17. Rursus angelus Domini apparuit S. Patricio dicens, 'Vade ad S. Seniorem episcopum qui est in monte Hermon in dextro

[1] *The Epistle and Hymn of Saint Patrick,* Dublin, 1876, p. 86, note.

[2] Lib. i. cc. 17–25, Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 48–49.

latere maris Oceani, et vallata est civitas ejus septem[1] muris. Cumque venisset illuc, mansit cum eo per aliquos dies. *Deinde ordinavit eum episcopus ille in sacerdotem*, et lectitavit cum eo multis temporibus. Dum autem ibi moraretur, nocte quâdam audivit in visione voces puerorum de sinu et de ventre matrum,[2] qui fuerunt in Hiberniâ, dicentium: 'Veni S. Patrici, salvos nos fac ab irâ ventura!' Eâdem quoque horâ dixit angelus ad eum: 'Vade ad Hiberniam, et eris apostolus insulae illius.' Patricius respondit: 'Non possum ire, quia mali sunt homines qui habitant in eâ.' Angelus dixit: 'Vade.' Patricius e contra: 'Non possum,' ait, 'nisi uidero Dominum.' Exiuit ergo Patricius cum nouem uiris et uidit Dominum. Dixitque Dominus ad eum: 'Veni ad dexteram meam.' Et iuit Patricius ad dexteram Domini. Tunc ait illi Dominus: 'Vade in Hiberniam, et praedica in eâ verbum salutis[3] aeternae.' Patricius respondit: 'Tres petitiones postulo a te, Domine, ut homines, scilicet Hiberniae, diuites sint in auro et argento; et ego sim patronus eorum, et post hanc uitam sedeam ad dexteram tuam in caelo.' Ait illi Dominus: 'Habebis, Patrici, sicut rogasti. Et insuper qui commemorauerit te in die, uel in nocte, non peribit in aeternum.'

Surgens igitur Patricius uenit in Hiberniam, statimque uaticinati sunt prophetae Hiberniae, quod uenisset Patricius illuc. *Cum autem praedicantem illum diebus ac noctibus spernerent insulani*, qui tamen resistere non poterant Dei ordinationi, S. Patricius fudit ad Dominum huiusmodi preces: 'Domine Iesu Christe, qui iter meum per Gallias atque per Italiam ad has insulas direxisti, perduc me obsecro[4] ad sedem *sanctæ* Romanae ecclesiae, ut acceptâ deinde auctoritate praedicandi cum fiduciâ uerbum tuum, fiant Christiani per me populi Hibernorum.'

20. Nec multo post, progressus ab Hiberniâ, uir Domini Patricius uenit ad caput, ut postularat, omnium ecclesiarum Romam; ibique benedictione apostolica petita et accepta, reuersus et itinere, quo uenerat illuc.

21. Transnauigato uerò mari Britannico,[5] et arrepto uersus Gallias itinere, uenit, ut corde proposuerat, ad hominem sanctissimum ac probatissimum in fide ac doctrinâ, omnium pene Galliarum primatem eximium, Germanum videlicet, Antisiodorensis ecclesiae episcopum; apud quem non paruo tempore

[1] Ferguson conjectures that here uii. is a scribal error for .ui., and that the city referred to is "Sixfours, the Hexafrourai of the Massilian colonists . . . within no great distance of Arles."

[2] See infra, pp. 420, 444.

[3] falutis, Colgan.

[4] absecro, Colgan.

[5] Colgan (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 63, col. 1) conjectures that *Britannico* is a scribal error for *Tyrrheno* or *Tusco*. Surely the true explanation is that the whole of c. 20 is an interpolation. Compare the Brussels copy of Muirchu's Memoir, infra, p. 496, line 11.

demoratus est in omni subiectione, cum patientiâ, ob[o]edientiâ, charitate, castimoniâ, et omni tam spiritus quàm animae munditiâ, uirgo manens in timore Domini, ambulans in bonitate et simplicitate cordis omnibus diebus uitae suae.

22. Interim autem dum[1] ibi per multos dies demoraretur, angelus Domini qui ei indesinenter apparuerat, etiam modo crebris uisionibus uisitauit eum, dicens iam adesse tempus, ut ueniret in Hiberniam, et euangelico ore nationes feras ac barbaras, ad quas docendas destinatus fuerat, conuerteret ad Christum. Nactus ergo tempus op[p]ortunum comitante consilio diuino, aggreditur ad quod illum Dominum uocare dignatus est; misitque cum illo S. Germanus prae[s]byterum nomine Regirum, ut testem et comitem eum haberet idoneum in omnibus uiis et operibus suis.

23. Necdum tamen uir Domini Patricius ad pontificalem gradum fuerat promotus: quod ideo nimirum distulerat, quia sciebat quod Palladius archidiaconus Celestini, qui quadragesimus quintus a S. Petro apostolicae sedi praeerat, ordinatus ab eodem papa directus fuerat ad hanc insulam sub brumali rigore positam, conuertendam. Sed prohibuit illum Deus conuertere gentem illam, quia nemo potest accipere quicquam in terrâ, nisi datum ei fuerit de caelo, immites enim et feri homines accipere nolebant doctrinam eius. Neque ipse longum noluit transire tempus in terra non sua, sed reuerti disposuit ad eum, qui misit illum. Cumque aggressus Palladius mare transmeasset, et ad fines Pictorum peruenisset, ibidem uita decessit.

24. Audientes itaque de morte Palladii archidiaconi, discipuli illius, qui erant in Britanniis, id est, Augustinus, Benedictus et caeteri, uenerunt ad S. Patricium in Euboriam, et mortem Palladii ei denunciabant. Patricius autem et qui cum eo erant, declinauerunt iter ad quemdam mirae sanctitatis hominem, summum episcopum Amatorem nomine, in propinquo loco habitantem, ubique S. Patricius sciens quae superuentura essent illi, episcopali gradu ab eodem archipraèsule Amatore sublimatus est. Sed et alii nonnulli clerici ad officium inferioris gradus ordinati sunt. Eodem uero die, quo S. Patricius sacris benedictionibus consecratus est, conuenienter hoc psalmistae canticum in choro psallentium clericorum decantatum est: 'Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundùm ordinem Melchisidech.'

25. Tunc uenerabilis sacerdos Domini Patricius nauem ascendit et peruenit in Britanniam, omissisque omnibus ambulandi anfractibus, cum omni uelocitate prospero fluctu mare nostrum in nomine S. Trinitatis adiit.

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[1] dam, Colgan.

The kernel of fact in this story seems to be that Patrick returned to Ireland on, or soon after, his ordination as priest (say in A.D. 397), and without any commission from Rome; that he laboured for thirty years in converting the pagan Irish, but met with little or no success; that he attributed this failure to the want of episcopal ordination and Roman authority; that in order to have these defects supplied he went back to Gaul (say, in A.D. 427), intending ultimately to proceed to Rome; that he spent some time[1] in study with Germanus of Auxerre; that hearing of the failure and death of Palladius, who had been sent on a mission to Ireland by Pope Celestinus in A.D. 431, he was directed by Germanus to take at once the place of the deceased missionary[2]; that Patrick thereupon relinquished his journey to Rome,[3] received episcopal consecration from a Gaulish bishop Matorīx, and returned a second time to Ireland about the year 432, when he was sixty years old, as a missionary from the Gaulish church, and supplied with Gaulish assistants[4] and funds[5] for his mission. In this there is no improbability, no necessity to alter dates, to assume a plurality of Patricks, a duality of Palladii,[6] and to transfer the acts of one to another.

For the reasons stated by Professor Stokes[7] there is nothing improbable in the tradition that Patrick landed at the mouth of the river Vartry, where the town of Wicklow now stands, and where about a year before Palladius had landed. Thence Patrick sailed northwards along the coast, touching at Inis Patrick, stopping at the mouth of the Boyne, and landing at Strangford Lough. There he converted the chieftain Dichu and

[1] Four years according to the Tertia Vita, c. 21. C'est aussi la durée que donne Ericus, dans sa vie de Saint Germain, Robert, *Essai*, p. 56 n.

[2] See infra, p. 342, ll. 5–7. To this direction, and not to a Divine call, Patrick perhaps refers in the words 'non sponte pergebam,' p. 365, l. 20.

[3] See Muirchu, infra, p. 270, l. 5, pp. 496, l. 10.

[4] See Tírechán, infra, p. 303, ll. 1–6.

[5] cf. the legend about the nine men's load of gold and silver, infra, p. 30, ll. 9, 10.

[6] See an ingenious essay by the Rev. E. O'Brien, *Irish Eccl. Record*, August 1887, pp. 723–731, where *Sucat* is explained as a translation of *Palladius*.

[7] *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 51, 52.

received from him the site of the church called Sabhall Patraic, a name still in existence as Saul. Thence Patrick went to the valley of his captivity to visit his old master Miliuc, and offer him 'a double ransom';[1] and there occurred the event which is commonly called a legend, but which seems to be an instance either of dhar*n*a or of propitiatory self-sacrifice. Miliuc seeking to prevent the triumphant approach of his former slave, burnt himself alive along with his substance and his house.

Patrick then returned to Dichu's residence in Maghinis, and there he remained many days, *et caepit fides crescere ibi.*

After leaving Dichu he sailed to the mouth of the Boyne, and leaving his boats there, proceeded on foot to Slane, where he lighted his paschal fire, and the next day went on to Tara, chanting the hymn called 'The Deer's Cry.' There he preached Christ before the Irish over-king Loiguire, and converted his chief bard Dubthach Maccu-Lugair.

From Tara Patrick went to Telltown, where Carbre the king's brother sought to slay him, and caused his attendants to be scourged into the river Blackwater. Conall Gulban, however, the king's younger brother, received Patrick hospitably, and gave him the site of a church. Patrick then proceeded actively in the conversion of Bregia and other parts of the territory of the Southern Húi Néill. He then travelled to Tirawley under a safe-conduct from the nobles of that country, for which he seems to have paid in gold and silver 'the price of fifteen souls of men'; and in Tirawley, near the present town of Killala, he converted the local king and a great multitude of his subjects.

While Patrick was in Connaught he had the meeting with King Lóiguire's daughters, of which the account given infra, pp. 98–102, 315, 316, bears internal evidence of antiquity and genuineness. I refer in particular to the five baptismal interrogations (ἐπερωτήσεις) put by the Saint; to the mention of the chrisom-cloth, and the naiveté of the questions asked by the girls about God

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[1] Infra, p. 275, l. 17.

and His sons and daughters—questions which no mere legendmonger ever had the imagination to invent.

After spending some years in Connaught Patrick revisited Ulster, where he erected many churches, especially in Tirconnell.

He then visited Meath, passed on to Leinster, and baptised at Naas the two sons of the king of that province.

He next visited Magh-Life, and entering Leix, now Queen's County, again met the converted bard Dubthach Maccu-Lugair, and made Dubthach's disciple Fiacc bishop of Sletty.

Thence he proceeded to Ossory, and thence to Munster,[1] where he baptised the king.

According to the Tripartite Life, St. Patrick then founded Armagh, the site of which he obtained from a chieftain named Dáire. After having spent sixty years[2] in missionary work, partly as priest, partly as bishop, he died at an advanced age (perhaps 90 years) on the 17th March, probably in or about the year 463,[3] and was buried in Downpatrick.

These are all, or almost all, the facts relating to Patrick which are either certain or reasonably probable. He seems, as Dr. Todd says, to have always addressed himself in the first instance to kings or chieftains, the baptism of the chieftain being immediately followed by the outward adherence of the clan; but it is certain that the whole of Ireland did not submit to Patrick's influence. Even when he wrote his *Confessio* he tells us that he looked daily for a violent death (*interneccio*) or to be brought back to slavery (*redigi in seruitutem*), and there is some evidence that a partial apostasy took place during the two centuries following his death.

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[1] When Dr. Todd (*St. Patrick*, 468) says that 'no mention of Cashel or of Patrick's journey to Munster, is to be found in the Book of Armagh,' he must have overlooked or forgotten the passage printed infra, p. 331, ll. 6–9.

[2] See Fiacc's hymn, v. 20, infra, p. 408.

[3] A.D. 493 given by most of the authorities as the date of Patrick's death, seems due to the desire of the Irish to make his age, 120 years, exactly equal to that of Moses: see infra, pp. 114, 332.

V.—The Social Condition of the Early Irish.

We have now, fifthly and lastly, to mention the points in which the contents of this work throw light on the social condition of the early Irish. In dealing with this matter we may adopt an arrangement suggested partly by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his work on Education, but chiefly by Dr. Weise in his book on the Greek loanwords in Latin (Leipzig, 1883), p. 92.

This subject will here be treated under the following heads.—

A. External Nature, and herein, I. Animals; II. Plants and Trees; III. Minerals; IV. Other things in external nature.

B. Man, I., The Individual, his bodily and spiritual needs and the means of supplying them; II. The Family; III. The State.

A. External Nature.

I. Animals.

Animals. The animals other than man mentioned in this work are, the horse (*ech*, *marc*, *gerran*), which is used for riding, drawing chariots, and as a beast of burden—*groige* is used, p. 42, for more horses than one; the cow (*bó*), which is kept for her milk, p. 12, and is once mentioned as being killed for food, p. 186; *gamnach* (p. 142); the ox (*dám*, *ag*, p. 80), used as a beast of draught, p. 252; the calf (*lóig*, p. 308, *glonn*, gen. *gluinn*, pp. 68, 335); the sheep (*caera*, pp. 340, 558); the lamb (*úan*, pl. *úain*, p. 12); the goat (*gabar*), kept to carry water, pp. 180, 248, and sometimes eaten; the hound (*cú*, acc. *coin*, p. 450, pl. n. *coin*, p. 562), kept to attack strangers; the lapdog (*mes-chu*, p. 232, and *oirce*, p. 570); the cat (*catt*, gen. *caitt*, p. 568); the pig (*mucc*, p. 340), which sometimes devours children, p. 198; the boar (*torc*, pp. 186, 346), and the pigling (*orcán*, p. 186, cognate with the Latin *porcus*).

Of wild animals, the wolf, (*cú allaid* = wild hound), xxx., 12, 158, 177, 434; the fox (*sinnach*), 248, which was sometimes tamed; the deer (*ag allaid* = wild ox), pp. 46, 381, 458, *fiad*, gen. *fiada*); the hind, 230; which in one case is said to have been milked, p. 232; and her fawn (*iarndoe* or *iarroe*, pp. 46, 381, or *loeg* (lit. 'calf'), p. 230. To these may be added the mouse (*muir*), p. xxix, and the lion (*léu*, p. 150, or *léo*, p. 256,) both loanwords from the Latin. Wild animals.

Birds (*eoin*), black and white, are mentioned, pp. 114, 475, 477, 500, devils assuming the shape of the former; angels that of the latter. The dove (*colum*) is mentioned p. 256; the nest (*nett*, gen. *nit*), p. 338. Birds.

Fish (*iasc*) is mentioned, p. 36, and, for the salmon, which seems to have been a favourite article of food, four names occur, (*brattán*, *áe*, *linne*, p. 88, and *tonnem*, p. 146). Fish.

We have also the words for snake (*naithir*), p. 256; worm (*cruim*), p. 569; frog (*ráin*, a loan from the Latin *rana*), p. xxix; dragon (*draic*), scorpion (*scoirp*, xxx), also loans; and stag-beetle (*dáil*), p. 242.

II. Plants and Trees.

For plants we have the general word *clann*, borrowed like W. *plann*, from the Latin *planta*, p. 256. Grass (*fér*), pp. 228, 472; rushes, p. 200, which were used for thatching (*simni tuga* = rush of thatch), p. 156; *coinnline*, another name for rush, p. 84; corn (*arbor*), p. 468, and *cruithnecht*, 'wheat,' p. 240, where a *grainne cruithnechta* is mentioned; leek (*lus*, gen. *lossa*, p. 544; dat. pl. *losaib*, p. 468); onion, the loanword *undiun*, p. 56, and *folt-chep*, for which we have as to which Patrick, p. 200, declares, like a true Briton, that "all women who shall eat thereof shall be healthy." Some herbs were cultivated, and the word for herb-garden is *lubgort*, pp. 356, 240, as the word for meadow is *férgort*, p. 144. Other plants are, flower (*scoth*), p. 36; fern (*raith*, the Welsh *rhedyn*, the Gaulish *ratis*), p. 166; and heather (*froech*, Welsh *grug*, Gr. ἐρείκη), with *froichne*, heather-plant, p. 92. Plants.

For trees we have the general words *crann* (gen. *crainn*, p. 556 = W. *prenn*, Lat. adj. neut. *quernum*: *omna*, p. 218, and *bile*, p. 536, and the following species: apple (*aball*, p. 232), birch (*bethe*, p. 248), elder (*tromm*, gen. *truimm*, p. 334), elm (*lem*, gen. *lim*, pp. 84, 556), hawthorn (*scé*, gen. pl. *sciad*, p. 78), hazel (*coll*, p, 232), thorn (*droigen*, gen. pl., p. 78), vine (*fíne*, p. 550), and yew (*ibar*, p. 218). The word for oak (*dair*) does not occur; but we have its derivative *daire* (oakwood), p. 338. *Drissi* (spinae) occurs in Ml. 2[a]. Trees.

III. Minerals.

Metals. Stone (*cloch, liacc*) is mentioned, pp. 318, 360. Of metals the following are mentioned: gold (*ór*) uprooted in large masses from the ground (pp. 21, 94, 416, 442, 510) and used for ornamentation (pp. 74, 90) as the material of a sacramental fistula, and, employed in conjunction with silver (*argat*) as a bribe (p. 30), as an offering to a holy well (p. 324), and as the covering of idols (p. 90). Iron (*iarn*) was used for tools (p. 218), fetters ('conpede ferreo,' p. 288, l. 17; 'me ferro uinxerunt,' p. 372), swords (p. 300, l. 32), and even bells (p. 248). The other metals are *findruine* (p. 74), which seems to have been some kind of white bronze or latten (a mixture of brass and tin), *uma*, gen. *umai* (copper, bronze, p. 90), of which caldrons were made (pp. 22, 230, 291), and with which idols were sometimes covered (p. 90),[1] and its compound *créduma*, dat. *crethumu*, p. 86.

Other names for metals seem to occur in the phrases *cross cruanmoithni* (a cross of red bronze?), and *arda cruan-moin* (p. 86, ll. 7, 8), but the meaning is obscure.[2]

IV. Other things in external nature.

Of these the chief are: the world (*doman*), with its four quarters (*cethar-aird*), p. 430; the earth (*talam*, gen. *talman*, p. 50), which is employed to swallow up idols (p. 92), wizards (pp. 130, 454, 562), and other unchristian persons (pp. 204, 394), the sea (*muir*), which is to mercifully overwhelm Ireland seven years before Doomsday (p. 330); the sky or heaven (*nem*), the wind (*gáith*), the sun (*grían*), the moon (*ésca*), snow (*snechta*), fire (*tene*), lightning (*lóche*), water (*usce*), air (*aer*), *ail* (rock). Of these, ten are summoned by Patrick between him and various evils, and five, together with day (*lá*), night (*adaig*), and land (*tír*), are made to serve as eight guarantors for the fulfilment of an undertaking[3] (p. 566). Words used in topography are *slíab* (mountain), *cnoc*, *cnucha* (hillock, p. 134), *glenn* (valley), *inis* (island), *topur* or *tipra* (well), *cloch* (stone), *loch* (lake), and *dithrub* (wilderness).

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[1] I have here rendered *uma* by 'brass' an alloy of copper and zinc (cf. *humae fogrigedar*, gl. aes sonans, Wb., 12 b, 27.) I should perhaps have rendered it as 'bronze,' *i.e.*, an alloy of copper and tin.

[2] See some guesses in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, i. 482, iii. 486, note 534. Horses *cona trib cóectaib srían cruanmaith* 'with their thrice fifty bridles of *cruanmaith*' are mentioned in L.U. 85 a. 31. And O'Davoren, 71, has an unintelligible gloss '*cruan*, a kind of the old brazier-work, the *all* (bridle) *cruan*, *i.e.*, the red and copper, *i.e.*, the yellow *maithne*, *i.e.*, yellow and green and white.'

[3] Compare the eight special forms in the Kathásaritságara, i. 324: Ether, Sun, Fire, Water, the Earth, Air, and the Moon, and *paçupati* (= Ir. *Eochaid*?).

B. Man.

I. The Individual, his bodily and spiritual needs, and the means of supplying them.

Man, the human being (*duine*), is of a body (*corp*) and soul (*anim*). The sexes are distinguished as *fer* (man) and *ben* (woman). Patrick speaks of a beautiful Scottish lady, and the 'girls with their golden yellow hair over their garments' (p. xxxviii, n.) may have indicated the race to which the Celtic aristocracy belonged. Parts of the body are *lám* (hand), *coss* (foot), *brú* (womb), *fíacail* (tooth), *muin* (back), *dí sróin* (nostrils, p. 144), *folt* (hair), *meuir* (fingers), *loctanán* (little finger, p. 128).

The bodily needs of the individual are food, drink, fuel, shelter, carriage, healing, and burial.

Food:—Besides the general words *bíad* (= βίοτος), gen. *bíaid*, p. 236, and *maise*, p. 104, we find the following animals used as food, swine, *mucc*; wether, *molt* (low Latin *multo*), pp. 120, 558; cow (*bó*), p. 186; fork of beef, *lárac*, is mentioned, pp. 120, 121; salt meat seems referred to in p. 388, l. 21, and 'condio' is glossed by *saillim*. Fish-food is referred to in pp. 34, 36, etc. Milk, new milk (*lemnacht*), pp. 12, 436), and its products, curd (*gruth*, p. 114); whey-water (*medg usce*, Fr. *mègue*); butter (*imb*, p. 14, W. *ymen-yn*, Lat. *unguen*); cheese (*fascre grotha*, pp. lx, 182, 246), and apparently, *tanag*, p. xl); honey, *mil*, gen. *mela*, pp. 14, 436. Among vegetable foods, nuts, *cno-mess*, nut-harvest, p. 524; corn, *cruithnecht*, p. 240, and *arbor*, p. 468, which were ground into meal, *min*, or flour by means of a quern, *bró*, gen. *broon*, p. 307 = Skr. *grāvan*, made into a mass (*toisrenn*) of dough (*tóes*, p. 458), and a cake, *bairgen*, n. pl. *bairgin*, p. 242, l. 8. The words for 'leaven' were *descad* and *serbe*, Wb. 9 b, 12, 13. We may conclude the subject of food by mentioning the rare words *cráibechán* (meat-pottage) p. xviii, and *acnabad* (a ration), pp. 228, 232, and by referring to the solitary mention of cannibalism (p. 518, l. 22) in time of famine. Food.

Drink.—The general name for liquor seems to have been *linn*, p. 659. Ale (*cuirm*, gen. *corma*, the Welsh *cwrw*) is mentioned in pp. 130, 237, and a word which seems to mean alebibbers (*coirmmgnaithi*) in p. 136. King Loeguire and his nobles are described as drinking wine, *fín*, p. 282, l. 25; the odour of wine is referred to in p. 160, l. 19, and a *telchuma fína* (cask of wine) is mentioned in p. 513, l. 26. *Fín* like *olae* 'oil' is borrowed. The word for drunkenness, *mescae*, p. 136, is native. Drink.

Fuel.—Wood is the only fuel mentioned. No mention is made of either peat or coal. The words used are *conduth*, p. 14, l. 25, *connadach* and *brossna crínaig*, p. 10. Fuel.

Clothing.

Clothing.—The general words for garment are *étach*, pl. *étaige*, p. 100, and *díllat*, p. 340. The mantle, *brat*, p. 220, is the equivalent of the Latin *sagum*, p. 287, l. 3, the *inar* of *tunica*. The *lenn* (pl. dat. *lendaib*, p. xxxviii) was another kind of mantle worn by women. The *brothrach*, gen. *brothraige*, p. 74, l. 4, seems to have been some kind of mantle. The brooch (*delg*, p. 194); the girdle (*criss*, p. 74; *ferenn*, p. 284, acc. pl. *fernu*, p. 56); the glove, the sabot, and the shoe are mentioned in pp. 295, 313, 372, but only under their Latin names, *manica*, *fico*, and *calceamentum*. Special garments: garment worn by wizards (*tonach druad*, p. 56 = vestis magica, p. 285, l. 3, cassula magi, p. 285, l. 12), and by ecclesiastics (*cassal*, p. 56, l. 31—worn also by women, p. 88, l. 31) and *calle* = Lat. pallium, p. 102. Ornaments worn on the person are *muince*, p. 340, and *munilia*, *manuales*, *pediales* and *brachiola*, the parure which a pious lady bestowed on Patrick (p. 321, l. 17). The dressmaker, *étidach*, p. 668, and the embroideress, *druinech*, p. 266.

Dwellings.

Dwellings.—The general name for house is *tech*; residence, *aross*, gen. *areis*, p. 334. Houses were probably round, built of planks[1] and wattles, and roofed with straw or reeds.[2] A tent (*pupall*, pp. 40, 278) seems to have been used by Patrick, p. 278, in his missionary journeys. The fortress, *dún*, p. 66, and the *insola in gronna*, which seems to be a *crannog*, p. 212. Sheds (*liasa*, p. 144) were used for cattle. The word for barn (*saball*) is borrowed. Houses for special purposes are *coirmthech*, p. xxxvi., *fialtech*, *fualtech*, etc. Of ecclesiastical buildings we shall speak when we deal with the architecture.

Furniture.

For the furniture we have a few names: *lepaid* (bed, p. 158); *frithadart* (bolster, p. 408); *coire* (caldron, pp. 230, 416), the *aeneus* of the Bank of Armagh (p. 291); *ardig* (cup, p. 54); *lestar* (vessel), and *fointreb* (small gear, p. 10, *intreb*, gl. suppellex). Washing-stones are also mentioned, and seem to have been a regular adjunct to the Irish bath; a tub (*drolmach*), and a vat (*dabach*) are also mentioned; the light (*caindel*) was placed on a candlestick, p. 387.

Carriage.—*a*. By land. *b*. By water.

Carriage by land.

The chariot drawn by a pair of horses seems to have been the principal means of locomotion, pp. 42, 126, 144. It contained a chief seat (*prímsuide*), and a seat for the charioteer (*ara*), whose function was termed *araidecht*. The *axes curruum* are mentioned in p. 280, and an unknown part of the chariot, *domuin*, in p. 195. A cart was *carr*, of which the diminutive *carréine* occurs, p. 252.

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[1] Adamnán, p. 29[a] of the Schaffhausen codex, mentions a tegoriolum tabulis subfultum.

[2] Compare the description of the habitations of the Belgae given by Strabo, ed. C. Müller, iv. 4–3.

Horses were also used as beasts of burden, and a *marclach cruithnechtae* (horseload of wheat) is mentioned, p. 240.

Words for road are *sét* (p. 408) = W. *hynt*, Goth. *sinth-s*, and *slige*, which must be wide enough for two chariots to pass one another.[1]

For carriage by water there were the *noe* (=navis), *curach*, p. 446, navicula, made of wickerwork and covered with hide, and *ethar*, p. 275; *long* (vessel), *coblach* or *murchoblach*, pp. 66, 206, borrowed from *caupulus*. Adamnán mentions no less than nine kinds of vessels: alnus, barca, caupallus, curuca, nauis longa, nauis oneraria, nauicula and scapha. Rowing a boat (*ethar do imrom*) is mentioned in p. 66. Ships appear to have been beached, and *dorat crann fri tír*, p. 34, seems to mean 'he pushed off from shore.' **Carriage by water.**

Healing: — General words for illness and disease are *teidm*, *galar*, *aincess*, and sick folk are denoted by *aes tedma*, p. 258. Special diseases are *baile* (frenzy), pp. 1, 34, *dásacht* (madness), *bacaige* (lameness), 132, *tregat* (colic), p. 228, and the pestilence called *bude connaill*, p. 518. To these may be added from the Würzburg Codex, 30 b, 13, two words for cancer, *tuthle* and *ailse* (acc. sg. *ailsin*). In the same codex we find *cenngalar* (headache) and *galar n-eclis* (gastric disease). Names for various kinds of diseased persons are *amlabor* (dumb), p. 484, *bacach* (lame), pp. 258, 484, a synonym of which is *losc*, pl. acc. *luscu*, p. 408, *bodur* (deaf), pp. 258, 484, *clam* (leper), pp. 358, 484, a synonym of which is *trosc*, pl. acc. *truscu*, p. 480. The word for healer is *liaig*, pp. xx, 200, cognate with the English *leech*: the verb for healing is *íccaim*, cognate with ἀκέομαι. Patrick's saying, *Per manus medici sanat Deus*, p. 200, shows how he regarded the physician's art. The monastery in Hí and doubtless those in Ireland were resorted to for *carnalia medicamenta*. **Healing.**

Burial:—

There is no reference to cremation. After the 'waking' or watching (*aire*, p. 410), which lasted twelve nights in the case of St. Patrick (p. 254), but only three days in that of Columba, and the *dies ululationis* (p. 317) = *laithi na cainte*, p. 104, the corpse was placed on a bier (*fuat*, pp. 220, 482), carried on a small cart (*carréne*, p. 252), and buried in a grave (*adnacul*, pp. 84, 160), over which a cairn (*carn*) was heaped. Thus in p. 160, l. 19, we have *scailter in carnd, taidbegar in t-adnacul*, 'the cairn is broken up, the grave is opened.'[2] So **Burial.**

[1] Cormac's glossary, s.v. *Rót*, and cf. Michelet, *Origines du Droit Français*, 1840, i. 235: and Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 1854, p. 104.

[2] literally 'abrogated;' *doaithbiuch* (gl. abrogo) Sg. 22ᵃ.

in p. 322 : sepeliuit illum aurigam Totum Caluum, id est *Totmáel*, et congregauit lapides erga sepulchrum.[1] Another name for grave was *ferte*, acc. *ferti*, p. 278, l. 9 : 'sepulchri fossam fodiuit' occurs, p. 311, l. 14 ; and when King Loeguire's daughters were buried near the well Clebach 'fecerunt fossam rotundam in similitudinem *fertæ*, quia sic faciebant Scotici homines et gentiles. Nobiscum autem *relic* uocatur, id est reliquiae, et *feurt*.' In p. 356 the Irish words *du ferti martur* gloss the Latin 'ad sargifagum (*i.e.*, sarcophagum) martyrum.' The heathen warriors were buried in their armour (p. 75) and, apparently in an erect position, p. 308, and King Loeguire was buried with his face against his lifelong foes, the Leinstermen (p. 566). That cattle were slain as part of the funeral rite appears from L.U. 130[a], l. 10. Over the graves of Christians a cross was erected, pp. 294, 325, 326. After burial of Christians a requiem (*ecnaire*) seems to have been sung.

Industrial arts.

There is little said of the industrial arts and tools by which men's bodily needs were supplied. We have the names for groom (*echaire*, p. 201), sailor (*nóere*, p. 416), fisherman (*íascaire*, pp. 142, 146), shepherd (*œgaire cairech*, p. 16), cowherd (*buachaill*, or *boare*, p. 422), swineherd (*mucaid*, *muicid*, pp. 36, 570), cook (*coice* and *ben funi*), smith (*goba*), brazier (*cerd*), brewer (*cirpsere* or *scoaire*, p. 265), clothier (*étidach*), embroiderer (*druinech*), firewood-man (*fer connadaig*, p. 267) ; and of these *cirpsere* (= cerevisiarius) and *coice* (coqvus) are loanwords. Herding swine (*ingaire mucc*) is mentioned, pp. 16, 40 : salmon-fishing with nets (*lína*) in p. 142. As to agriculture, we have the words *imbaire* (ridge) and *etrache*[2] (furrow, p. 88), the reference to the fencing of fields, p. 212, and the names for different grains. Area is glossed by *ithlar*, horrea by *ithtige*. Before being ground the corn was dried on a kind of hurdle (*laem*) in a kiln (*áith*, canaba). The art of grafting was understood (Wb. 5 b, 42), though whether it was practised does not appear. Walls were built with iron trowels (p. 664). Trees were felled with iron tools (p. 218), the word for adze (*tál*) occurs in composition with *cenn*, and an axe (*biail*) is mentioned, p. 136. But the reference to watermills, in p. 210, shows the greatest advance in civilisation.

Tools.

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[1] The following epitaph may be added to the quotations in p. 322, note 7 :— *Carausius hic iacit in hoc congeries lapidum*, Hübner Inscr. Brit. Christianae, No. 136 ; and this distich (ascribed to Vergil) on the robber Ballista :—

Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur
Ballista sepultus ;
nocte die tutum carpe viator
iter.

[2] Spelt *etrice* in Rawl. B. 502, fo. 59 b, 2.

Of trade and commerce nothing can be said, save that the mention of wine (pp. 282, 513) and of the 'aeneum mirabilem transmarinum' (p. 291), points to some traffic with foreign countries.

Weights and measures are fixed with reference to the parts and powers of the human body. Thus, Patrick ransoms himself with a lump of gold, the weight of his head (pp. 21, 414). He is buried a man's cubit (*fer-cubat fir*, p. 252) below the surface of the ground. And Conall measures the site of a church 'pedibus eius .x. pedum' (p. 70). A mile is *míle* (passuum). A candle four man's handbreadths long is mentioned, p. xxiii. Coirbre promises to Cuangus *a rodarcc* (all he could see) in a certain direction (p. 148). And Cormac gives Buichet (pp. xxxvii, xxxviii) all that his eyesight reached from the rampart of Kells. Other measures are *míach* (gen. *meich*, p. 216), 'sack' used for grain or malt; *airmed* used for meal, p. 186, *ungae* (= Lat. uncia) used for metal, p. 340; and the land-measures, *damaisc thíre*, p. 132, and *leth-indle*, p. 340. Weights and measures.

Of coined money in Ireland[1] we have not a trace, except in the Low-Latin word *scriptula*, used by S. Patrick, p. 372, l. 9. The *cumal*, ancella (pp. 212, 355), or slave-girl, was the unit of value. She was worth three cows. Seven slave-girls (= 21 cows) is the penalty imposed by Patrick on Cellachán and his descendants failing to surrender a certain transgressor (p. 212). Seven slave-girls or seven years of penance is the penalty for refusing hospitality to Patrick's successor (p. 355). The *cumal* of silver for which a horse was sold (p. 341) is so much of that metal as is worth three cows. Money.

So much for bodily needs and the means of supplying them. Man's spiritual needs are expressed and satisfied by 1. Amusement, 2. Literature, 3. Science, 4. Art, and 5. Religion. Of these in their order— Spiritual needs.

1. Amusement.

The only amusements of the Irish to which reference is made in this book are feasting, fairs, and juggling. For 'feast' we have the word *fled* (= W. *gwledd*), p. 202, its compound *cobled*, gen. *coibhlidhi*, p. 556, and *feis*, p. 52, l. 18. An annual feast in honour of Patrick seems mentioned in p, 246. The guests seem to have been entertained by buffoons (*druith*, dat. *druthaibh*, p. 204), whom the Latin oddly calls *praecones* (p. 204, l. 3). Amusements.

[1] The *solidi* numbered in p. 378, l. 22, are Gaulish coins.

Possibly also by the *impudici* and *histriones*, whom kings are enjoined, p. 507, l. 25, not to support. Words for festivals are *airtach*, p. 174, l. 3, and *líth* or *líth-laithe*, p. 40, l. 25. A fair is *óenach*: a royal fair (*óinach rígdae*) = *agon* (i.e. ἀγών) regale, is mentioned, pp. 68, 307.

2 Literature.

The poet (*fili*, pl. dat. *filedaib*, p. 564, cognate with W. *gweled*, 'to see'), and his art (*filidecht*), p. 564), are mentioned, and Dubthach is called king-poet ('poetam optimum,' p. 283) of the isle of Ireland, p. 52. His artistic products are called *bairdne* (bardism), p. 190, l. 2, and in the ninth century they seem to have begun and ended by praising the Lord (Ml. 26[b] 10). The *fili's* privilege of uttering lawful *trefoclae* is said (p. 565) to have been formally ordained by the Irish in the time of Patrick. The curious extract from Cormac's Glossary, p. 568, exhibits the heathen *fili* as a vulgar wizard, chewing the raw flesh of pigs, hounds, or cats, singing incantations over it, and then offering it to his gods. Mention is made of *metur fileta* (poetic metre), p. 172, and of *rithim oscorda* (vulgar rhythm), pp. cii, ciii, *rithim oscarda*, p. civ., in which there were rhyme and a fixed number of syllables But there is good reason for thinking that the primeval poetry of Ireland was neither metrical, rhythmic, nor rhymed, and that in the case of stanza (*caiptel*), line (*líne*), and syllable (*sillab*), p. 382, the things as well as the words, are due to the teaching of Christian priests.[1] Alliteration seems to have prevailed in the primeval poetry, of which the *Fáed Fiada* may be regarded as a specimen, and thence this ornament spread to Celtic latinity.

Species of poets were the *duanaire*, p. 551, and the *cainte* (lampooner), p. xxxiii. The *fer cerda* is mentioned, p. 566, as entitled to utter eulogy (*molad*) and satire (*áir*) in public. The poet's reward was the *doas*, pp. 246. l. 3, 350, l. 19.

A historian, if this be the meaning of *fer comcni*, is entitled to speak, if he has a good memory and is skilled in answer and declaration, and narrative, p. 566. Biographers are mentioned as placing incidents 'under a thread of narration,' *fo gló[s]náthe n-aissnesen*, where *gló-snáthe*, like the Sanskrit *sūtra* (thread) may possibly also mean a rule.

Letters. Letters or epistolae are mentioned in p. 226, l. 19, and 301, l. 13. Patrick in one of his visions sees a man coming as if from Ireland, 'cum aepistolis innumerabilibus,' p. 364, l. 6, and in the Irish Life in the Lebar Brecc, p. 442, l. 28, this man (pro-

[1] See Thurneysen, *Rev. Celt.* vi. 336–347.

moted to be an angel) comes *co n-epistlib immdaib leis tria goedilg* (having many letters in Gaelic). The 'litterae' and 'abgatoriae' which Patrick used to read to baptized persons (p. 304, l. 3), may have been religious epistles and primers.[1]

That the Irish wizards had books (*lebuir*) might have been argued from the story told in pp. 57, 284, 460. But this is obviously taken from the legend of Simon Magus and S. Peter. Books are mentioned as having been left by Palladius in Ireland (pp. 30, 446), as having been given to Patrick by Pope Sixtus (p. 420), as having been brought by Patrick from Rome to Armagh (p. 474). They were carried in the owner's girdle (p. 74), or kept in cases (*leborchometa*, p. 96, *tiaga*) or leathern satchels hung by a strap (*iris*). Instruments of writing are the pen (*penn*, gen. *penne*, p. 542), the writing-style (*graif*, p. 92), ink (*dub* gl. atramento, Wb. 15 a, 10), the writing-board (*clár i scribad*, p. 30), and the tablets (*poolire*, p. 344, corruptly, *folaire*, p. 46). That these tablets were wooden staves, resembling the short straight swords of the Irish, has been argued by Bishop Graves from the story told in p. 300. The fact that the Irish words for 'writing,' 'pen,' 'paper,' 'quire,' 'parchment,' 'writing-style,' 'book,' 'letter,' and 'tablet' are borrowed respectively from the Latin *scribere, penna, charta, quina, membrana, graphium, liber, epistola*, and *pugillares*,[2] is an argument against the knowledge of letters by the Pagan Irish. Books.

To this may perhaps be added the numerous instances in which Patrick is stated to have written *abgitoria*, or *abgatoria*, or *elementa* for his noble or bardic converts, e.g., Ernaisc or Iarnasc, pp. 110, 320, Oengus, 112, 322, Brón and Macc Ríme, p. 138, Cerpán, 308, Macc Ercae, 326, Muirethach, 327, Hinu, 328, and Fiacc, 190. It is, however, possible that these words mean, not as is usually supposed, alphabets, like that carved on the pillar-stone of Kilmalkedar,[3] but the elements, the A B C, of the Christian doctrine. Compare *abgitir crabaith* (gl. initium fidei), Wb., 33 c, 13, *Aibgitir in Crabaid*, 'the Alphabet of Piety,' p. xviii, and the specimen there given of the work so entitled. If so, some knowledge of the Roman alphabet, which Patrick doubtless employed in these 'abgitoria' or 'elimenta,' as well as in the copy of the Psalms which he wrote for Sachell (p. 301, l. 8), must have existed in Ireland before his advent. Whether the Irish then possessed another alphabet—the Ogmic—and, if so, whether this was borrowed from the Teutons or invented by the Celts themselves, *Abgitoria.*

[1] If so, it is unnecessary to insert [scribebat] in p. 304, l. 4.

[2] The Old-Welsh *poulloraur*.

[3] See Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 133.

are burning questions which the documents printed in the present work furnish no means of deciding.[1]

Oral teaching is referred to in one of the Würzburg glosses (11 b, 6): "it is the custom of the good teachers (*dagforcitlib*) to praise the understanding of the hearers that they may love what they hear," and cf. ibid. 4 a, 2.

A scribe (scriba, Ir. *scríbnid*) is mentioned, infra, p. 337, l. 24, and various famous calligraphers are commemorated in Irish books. The importance of the scribe's office was so great that whoever shed his blood was liable to be crucified or to pay seven slave-girls.

3. Science.

Here we can only quote such evidence of astronomical knowledge as is afforded by the legends involving the astronomical numbers 7, 12, and 365 (as to which see the index, s. vv. seven, three, twelve), and by the divisions of time, which are, in Irish, strangely numerous:—

1. *atom* (atomus), the 564th part of a moment.
2. *ostint* or *unga*, the 12th part of a moment.
3. *brothad*, 'moment,' lit. twinkling (of an eye).
4. *pars*, 'part,' a third of a minute.'
5. *minuit*, 'minute.'
6. *ponge*, 'point,' a quarter of an hour.
7. *úair*, 'hour' (hora).
8. *catar*, a quarter of a day.
9. *laithe*, 'day.'
10. *tredenus*, 'a space of three days.'
11. *nóilaithe*, 'a space of nine days.'
12. *sechtmain*, 'week' (septimana).
13. *coicthiges*, 'fortnight.'
14. *mí*, 'month,' gen. *mís*.
15. *tremse* or *ráithe*, a 'quarter of a year.'
16. *blíadain*, 'year.'
17. *sáegul*, 'age' (saeculum).
18. *áes*, 'aeon.'[2]

All these are loanwords, except *brothad*, *laithe*, *mí*, *tremse*, *ráithe*, *blíadain*, and *áes*. Another division of time is the *nomad*

[1] The passage from the story of Bran mac Febail, printed supra, p. xxxvi., ll. 2 and 4, is one of the many mentions in Irish mediaeval romance of the use of Ogmic writing.

[2] See *The Battle of Moira*, ed. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1842, pp. 108, 109, 331, and Ducange, ed. Favre, vv. Athomus, Uncia.

(gen. *nomaithe*, p. 568, l. 28), the length of which has not yet been ascertained.

4. Art.

This is either permanent (sculpture, carving, architecture, painting) or transitory (music, acting, dancing). On the art of the Irish the documents now printed throw little or no light.

Sculpture and carving.

Sculpture and Carving. The Irish had erect wooden images (p. 320, l. 18). For 'idol' *arracht* (pp. 34, 194, 258) seems to be the native name. Dr. Todd[1] says (I know not on what authority) that the idol Cenn Cruaich (p. 90) 'seems to have been a massive stone pillar.' The Book of Leinster, p. 213, b., speaks of *tri hidail cloch fochethair*, 'four times three idols of stone,' and continues (p. 214, a) *O bæ flaith Herimoin . . . adrad robæ for clocha co tect Patric Macha maith* 'from Heremon's reign to the coming of good Patrick of Armagh there was adoration of (lit. upon) stones.' But these may have been mere unhewn blocks.

Painting.

As to painting and illumination the documents now printed are silent. It may, however, be noted, that in the Carlsruhe Augustine, fo. 11 c., the verbs *exprimuntur* (are drawn) and *finguntur* (are moulded) are glossed respectively by *dufórnditer* and *cruthigtir*, and that in the Milan codex, 59[b] 7, 'imago dipicta,' is glossed by *hi torund gibiach*. The word for 'engraving' is *rindad*.

Architecture.

Architecture is, *a.*, Civil, *b.*, Ecclesiastical, *c.*, Military. There is nothing in this book bearing on the civil architecture of the Irish, save the words for house (*tech*) and residence (*aross*). But the terms for ecclesiastical buildings are numerous.

For 'church' we have *baislec, cell, domnach* (pl. *domnaige*, p. 168), *eclais, reclés* (= *ro-eclés*), *ard-eclais*, and *tempul*. For chapel, *nemed* (p. 240). For oratory, *aregal* (p. 236) and *daurthech*. All these, except *nemed* (= Gaul. *nemeton*) and *daurthech*, are borrowed from the corresponding Latin terms. For cloister, convent, or ecclesiastical establishment we have two native words, *congbail* and *cathair* (pp. 148, l. 24, 472, l. 29). It seems to have been surrounded by a *raith* (p. 236, l. 14) or what Adamnán calls 'ualum monasterii,' and to have generally contained a *tech-mór*, 'great house,' (Adamnán's 'magna domus' and 'monasterium

rotundum'), a *tempul* (p. 472, l. 29), an oratory (*aregal* = oraculum[1]), a kitchen (*cule* or *cuicenn*), a refectory (*prainntech*), and a guest-house (*tech n-óiged*) built of wattles.[2] A graveyard (*relec*, *ruam*) was attached. A *dísert* (hermitage) is mentioned in p. 242.

The church was first marked out and then generally built of wattles woven between upright stakes (sudes, Ir. *clí*). Hence the expressions *saidis clí*, *rosaith-som clí*, p. 148. Baeda, speaking of Finan's church in Lindisfarne, says that, more Scottorum, it was built of hewn oak (de robore secto) and thatched with reeds. But the material was sometimes clay. Thus, Patrick built an *æclessiam terrenam* near Clebach (p. 317, l. 21), and in Tirawley he erected an *æclessiam terrenam de humo quadratam*, because, says Tírechán (p. 327), *non prope erat silua*. The *Daim-liacc* of Bishop Cíannan is referred to (p. 318) as a *domus lapidum*, and with this agrees a gloss in H. 2, 16, col. 101, Daimliacc .i. tegdais cloch. Square or quadrangular churches are also mentioned in pp. 110, 321; and we read (p. 292, l. 7) of a *sinistralis æclessia*, i.e., one lying north and south. But they seem to have been usually round, and hence, as Dr. Todd acutely remarked,[3] only one dimension (that of the diameter) is given in p. 236, ll. 20–22. The normal diameter of the *less* was 120 feet, of the church, 27 feet, of the kitchen, 17 feet, of the oratory, 7 feet. The church measured by Conall, pp. 70, 370, with sixty of his own feet, seems to have been exceptionally large.

Of the interior of the church the documents now printed say little. A *cro-chaingel* or screen is mentioned in p. 339, where it is applied metaphorically to laymen as *altóir* is applied to ecclesiastics. The altar was in the east, p. 30. It was sometimes of stone, pp. 94, 310, l. 33, 313, ll. 5, 6. An *immaltoir* and an *imaltoir* of stone are mentioned (pp. 446, 466). As Bishop Assicus, Patrick's 'faber aereus,' is said (pp. 96, 313) to have made altars, we may assume that they were also sometimes of copper or brass. The altar was covered with an altarcloth or sheet (*anart*, pp. 146, 252), which was probably purple. Nuns made these palls, and Patrick is said to have left fifty in Connaught.

The bell (*cloc*, gen. *cluic*, dimin. *clucéne*) is frequently mentioned (pp. 114, 120, 128, 146, 170, 190, 250, 300, 344, 476, 471, 564), but, except perhaps in one case, it seems to have been a hand-bell, and not used for summoning the congregation. The

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[1] The Old-Irish diminutive *ariuclán* points to an Old-Irish *ariul* = a Low Latin *ariculum*.

[2] Columba sends his monks ut de alicuius plebæi agellulo uirgarum fasciculos ad hospitium aferent construendum, MS. Schaff., p. 54[b].

[3] *St. Patrick*, p. 427.

possibly exceptional case is in p. 204, where mention is made of the (sound of) the bell out of the great *cathair* of Mungret.

There was probably always a cemetery near the church. It was called *relic* and *rúam*. The former word seems from a Low Latin *reliquium*, a place in which *reliquiae* (dead bodies, Ir. *reilci*, 252, l. 29) were deposited. The latter from *Roma*. See infra, p. 656, s. v. *ruam*. Cemetery.

The conical caps (*bennchopuir*) of the bell-houses (*clocc-thige*, *ceol-tige*) commonly called round towers, seem mentioned in the prophecy ascribed to the wizards, p. 34. Similar caps, whitened with lime, were on the *daurthige* or wooden oratories. Round towers.

The churches were often in groups of seven—a number probably suggested by that of the Apocalyptic churches of Asia.[1] Thus we read (p. 154) of the seven churches which Patrick had at the river Fochaine (p. 154), in Ciancht (p. 160), and in Húi Tuirtri (p. 168). We also read of the seven which he built (*fecit*) in Dulo Ocheni, p. 729. A standing cross is mentioned, p. 72, l. 17, and allusion to such crosses seems made in pp. 276, 325, 326. Seven churches.

On the military architecture of the Irish the documents now printed throw no light, the only words relating to the subject being *dún* (fort), *raith* (an earthen rampart), and *múr*, p. 422, which is borrowed from Latin *murus*. The digging (*claide*) of Raith Baccain, the royal stronghold (*rígdún*) of the district is mentioned, p. 192. Military architecture.

Music.

Music.—The commonest word for 'melody' is *céol*, p. xxxviii, where it is applied to harping, and p. 114, where it is applied to the song of birds. Song, chant is *cétul*, pp. 254, 410. Other words for different kinds of vocal music are *andord* (tenor?) and *sianan*, p. xxxviii. *Esnam*, p. xxxviii, also seems to mean music, both vocal and instrumental.

Of musical instruments none are mentioned save the bell (*clocc*), and the *timpan*, xliii., which was a stringed instrument. The *buinne* (tibia), the *crot* (cithara), and the *tob*, gen. *tuib* (tuba) occur in Wb. 12[c] 41, 42, 46; the *cruchor* (tibia) and horn-shaped *organ* in Ml. 116[c] 8, 144[d] 5. For musicians we have *cruitire* (harper), a derivative of *crott*, and *senmaire*, pp. xxxviii, 142, a derivative of *senm* (sound). In Ml. 61[d] 5 de cantatoribus cum suorum choro is glossed by *dinaib chetlaidib cosin chlais*. Musical instruments.

To produce music, whether vocal or instrumental, is *airfitiud* (*oirfitedh*, p. xxxvii: *ar-id-fetis*, 410). For sounding a trumpet or striking a lyre the verb used is *sennim*. A music-house (*ceol-tech*) is mentioned, p. 34, but this may mean a bell-tower.

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[1] Fergusson, *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, ii. 915.

Acting.—Unlike the Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons, the Celtic Irish seem never to have produced a drama. They had buffoons (*dráith*, dat. *druthaib*, p. 200), and in the Carlsruhe copy of Augustine's Soliloquia, the actor's name Roscius is glossed by *fuirsire*, and 'mimi' by *fuirsirechta*. So in Sg. 103a *histrionis* is glossed by *fuirsiri*. But in Sg. 49b *fuirsire* glosses *parasitus*, in Sg. 45b *fuirserán* glosses *parasitaster*, and in Lib. Hymn., fo. 11b *ond fuirseor* glosses *parasito*, and there can be little doubt that the primary meaning of the word is *parasite, sponger*, and that it ultimately got the meaning of *buffoon* as the Latin *parasitus* got the meaning of *scurra*.

Dancing (*rinced*) is not mentioned in the documents now published, nor, indeed, in any Irish MSS. that I have read.

5. Religion—*a*. Heathen; *b*. Christian.

Idols. Of the heathen religion of the Irish we have a few but interesting notices. They worshipped, according to Patrick, *idula et inmunda*, p. 399, l. 20, and Muirchu also mentions the *idulorum culturae*, p. 275, l. 2. Of these, one seems to have been Cenn Cruaich, pp. 90, 216, also called Cromm Cruaich, LL. 213b, which is said to have been the chief idol of Ireland, and also (pp. 216, 218) a special god of Foilge's. It is stated (BB. 393ᵃ) have been of gold, and surrounded by twelve other idols of stone.

To this Cromm Cruaich, according to the dinnsenchas of Mag Slecht, LL. 213 b, the Irish used to sacrifice their children (*marbtais a claind*). The poem proceeds thus:—

Blicht is ith	Milk and corn
uaid no-chungitis for rith,	They used to ask of him urgently,
darcend trin a sotha.	For a third of their offspring.
ba mor a grain is a grith.	Great was its horror and its wailing.

Síde. According to Fiacc's hymn *síde* were also worshipped. The passage in the Tripartite Life, p. 100, and in Tírechán, p. 315, ll. 6, 7, seems to show that these *síde* were dei terreni, probably the manes of ancestors. The mounds in which they lived were also called *síde*.

Whether *Erem*, gen. *Erimon* (p. 408) was ever worshipped does not appear. But his name is identical with that of Aryaman, one of the Indian Adityas (p. 408, l. 14). The adoration of the sun is referred to by Patrick, infra, p. 374, l. 21.

Well-worship. The existence in Ireland of well-worship is also evidenced by the story told in p. 122, ll. 4–15, and p. 323.[1] In the latter

[1] That the Scottish Picts also worshipped wells appears from Adamnán's story, p. 119.

place it is stated that the magi, i.e., wizards or druids, used to reverence the well Slan, and 'offer gifts to it as if it were a god.' This is the only passage connecting the druids with any of the forms of worship above mentioned. There is nothing to show that in Ireland they constituted a hierarchy or a separate caste, as they are said to have done in Gaul and Britain. They seem simply to have been one species of the wizards, sorcerers, or enchanters variously named in Irish *druid*, *maithmairc* (p. 42), *tinchitlidi*, and in the Latin of the Book of Armagh (pp. 273, 278) *sciui*, *magi*, *aurispices*, *auruspices*,[1] and *profetae*. The *drui*, however, seems to have been distinguished by white garments, pp. 325, 326, and by a tonsure, called *airbacc giunnae*, p. 317, l. 10. The *drui*'s incantation (*dícetal*), and the *filidechta druidechta* (chants of wizardry), are noticed in pp. 54, 56. Druids' spells or charms (*brichta*) are mentioned in the *Deer's Cry*, p. 50. If Tírechán (p. 308, l. 8) is to be trusted, the druids believed in a doomsday, called *erdathe*. Druids.

The superstitions mentioned or referred to in the present work are these:— Superstitions.

1. The effect of cursing with the left hand (p. 326, l. 10). A curse may be weakened by the curser (p. 144, l. 7), or deflected from a human being to an inanimate object, such as a tree (p. 218, l. 7). But it seems to be irrevocable. So throughout the *Kathásaritságara*. See Prof. Tawney's version, I. 555, note.

2. Patrick's covenant (*cotach*) is between Eogan and Eochaid, and should either break it . . . his body decays not in the earth (p. 154), i.e. (apparently) he becomes a werwolf.

3. After Patrick blesses his eight clerics and their gillie, a *dicheltair* (tarnkappe, cloak of darkness) went over them, so that not a man of them appeared (p. 46). The *celtair comga* which Cúchulainn throws over himself, the *bricht comga*, which his charioteer casts over his horses (L.U. 79ᵃ), had a similar effect. In India if a man repeats a certain charm forwards he will become invisible to his friends; if he repeats it backwards he will assume whatever shape he desires.[2]

4. The spells (*brichta*) of women and smiths, p. 50. 'Veneficia' is glossed by *aipthi* in the Würzburg Codex and 'fascinavit' by *adragart*.

5. Patrick cast his spittle on the rock which lay on his road, and the rock broke into three. A third part of the spittle was then flung a thousand paces (p. 218).

6. Justitia regis . . . . . temperies maris, terrae fecunditas

[1] i.e., *haruspices*. Divination by means of a slaughtered swine is mentioned in Lebor na hUidre, 92ᵇ, l. 37.

[2] Tawney's *Kathásaritságara*, ii. 231.

. . . . segetum habundantia, arborum fecunditas (p. 507. ll. 35–40). To the other instances of this superstition mentioned, infra, pp. 507, 670, add the Lebar Brecc, p. 38b, the Four Masters, A.M. 3303, 3310, 3311: A.D. 14, 15, 76: the Senchas Már, Laws III. 24: Skene, Ancient Books II. 483 (A riev enwir edwi fruytheu), and the Odyssey, xix., 109–114.

7. The angel Victor . . . used to leave trace and track of his feet in the stone (pp. xlviii, 414): uestigia pedis angueli in petra huc usque manentia cernuntur (p. 301, l. 12): uidit anguelum Domini stantem et uestigium pedis illius usque nunc pene [leg. plane?] adest (p. 330). 'He (scil. Victor) set his foot on the flagstone: its trace remains: it wears not away' (p. 404). In a bird's shape the angel Victor used to come . . . and the trace of his feet still remains on the stone (p. 414). 'When Patrick blessed the veil on the aforesaid virgins, their four feet went into the stone, and their traces remain therein semper' (p. 90).

8. The pestilence does not pass the ninth wave, supra, pp. cvii, cviii.

b.—Irish Christianity.

Pre-Patrician Christianity.

As to the form of Christianity preached by Patrick I have already said somewhat. That Christians of some sort existed in the island before his advent in 432, has been argued, first, from the words of Prosper, cited infra, p. 493, secondly, from Patrick's own words, infra, p. 372, ll. 16–19. 'I journeyed in every direction for your sakes, in many dangers, even to the remote parts, beyond which was no one, and where was no one, and where no one had ever come to baptize or ordain clerics or confirm the people:' from which, says Mr. King, it is evident that some of the less remote parts had been visited by Christian missionaries already;[1] thirdly, from the mention, infra, pp. 94, 313, 348, of the subterranean stone altar with its four glass chalices,[2] in Tirerrill, Co. Sligo; fourthly, from the mention (infra, p. 328, l. 7) of the bishop who met Patrick in Mag Tochuir, and another bishop named Colmán, who offered,

[1] *A Primer of the Church History of Ireland*, 3d ed. i. 3.

[2] Todd, *St. Patrick*, 222, 223.

de uotiua immolatione in sempiternum to Patrick, his church, called Cluain Cáin (p. 337, ll. 1–3).[1]

Doctrines preached by Patrick.

As to the doctrines held, and, doubtless, preached, by Patrick, I have already spoken. Besides his *Confessio*, the documents now printed constantly recognise the following:—

The Trinity.

1. The Trinity (pp. 44, 48, 52, 64, 258, 316), or, to quote Fiacc's hymn, p. 408, 'the true Godhead of the true Trinity,' and the Catholic faith (p. 44). According to the Lebar Brecc, p. 107[b], blasphemy (*écnach*) of the Trinity is the one sin that cannot be atoned for.

The Son.

2. Christ's Birth, Baptism, Crucifixion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, and Judgment are referred to in p. 48, but not his Conception. He is said (p. 316) to be co-eternal and co-equal with the Father. He creates all things (p. 358). The 'mysteries of the Incarnation and of Christ's Birth and of his Passion' are mentioned in the Würzburg glosses, 27[c], 21. According to the Saltair na Rann He was born through the crown of the Virgin's head,[2] and according to the Lebar Brecc, p. 257[a], He is the *third* Person in the Trinity.

The Holy Ghost.

3. The Holy Ghost breathes in the Father and the Son (p. 316) and speaks through the prophets, p. 2. He is septiform (p. 18). He is worshipped (p. 358). He proceeds from the Son (p. 358, where Patrick perhaps refers to S. John's Gospel, xv. 26, xvi. 7), not, according to the Nicene creed, from the Father and the Son. He is invoked in a hymn by Mael-Ísu[3] to inhabit our bodies and our souls, and to protect us against danger, diseases, devils, sins, and hell. And He is thus spoken of in a tract in the Lebar Brecc[4]:—

IS e *immorro* géll forácbad icon ecl*ais* ifus coléic frisin fégud sin, in Spir*ut* Noem nos-aittreband 7 nos-comdídnand 7 nos-nertand fri cech súalaig.	Now this is the pledge that has been left with the Church here at present for that vision, the Holy Spirit who dwells in her, and who consoles her, and who strengthens her to every virtue.
IS é in Spir*ut*-sa fódlas a dána dílsi fessin dá cech irisech isi[n]d ecl*ais* am*al* is ail leis, 7	It is this Spirit that deals out His own peculiar gifts to every faithful one in the Church,

[1] See Petrie, *Tara*, p. 23. According to D. Mac Firbis (Rawl. B. 480, fo. 63), Declán of Ardmore was one of the bishops who were in Ireland before Patrick.

[2] According to the Anglo-Saxons, He was born of Mary 'through her right side' (Kemble, *Salomon and Saturnus*, p. 204). So Indra (*Rigveda*, iv, 18, 2), and the Bodhisattva (Kern, *Buddhismus*, 1, 30 n.).

[3] Goidelica, p. 174.

[4] Facsimile, p. 251[b], l. 3, translated by O'Curry, *Lectures*, p. 376.

amal conic a n-airitin uad. Uair is on Spirut Noem tídnaicther na dána oiregda-sa don Eclais iter na dánaib archena .i. baithes 7 aitrige 7 frescísiu, dearc 7 treblati.

as He pleases and as they are capable of receiving them from Him. For it is by the Holy Spirit that these noble gifts are bestowed on the Church besides the other gifts, even Baptism and Repentance, and Hope, Charity, and tribulations.

The Catholic faith.

4. The Catholic Faith (*iris cathlacdae*, 'Fides Catholica,' 'Fides Christi Catholica,') is mentioned, pp. 41, 275, 281, l. 6, 507, l. 33; and Secundinus calls Patrick 'testis Domini fidelis in lege Catholica.' And the Unity of the Church is mentioned in p. 316, l. 21.

The Holy Scriptures.

5. As to the Scriptures and their reception as the rule of faith, we may again cite the Lebar Brecc[1]:—

IS do dánaib airegdai in Spirto Nóib in scriptuir diada on inorchaigther cech n-aincolus 7 ó comdidantar cech toirsi sægulla ó n-adaintir cech sollsi spirtalda o sonartnaigther cech n-indlobra. Uair is triasin scribtuir nóib dichuirther irse 7 indluigthe ond eclais, sithlaigther cech debaid 7 cech dechétfaid. Is innte fogabur comairle forbthi 7 forcetul comadais ó cech ceimium fóleith isind eclais. Is trithe indarbthar intledu démna 7 dualach o cech iresach isind eclais. Uair is í in scriptuir diada is máthair 7 is muime ailgen dona hulib iresachaib nosn-indithmiget 7 nosn-imraidet, 7 ailter condat mec thoga do Día triana comairle. Uair todáilid ind ecna cohernedach dia macu hilblasa ind lenna somilis 7 airera in bid spirtaldai on inmhescthar 7 o failtniget dogrés.

One of the noble gifts of the Holy Spirit is the divine Scripture, whereby every ignorance is enlightened, and whereby every earthly sadness is comforted, whereby every spiritual light is kindled, whereby every weakness is strengthened. For it is through the Holy Scripture that heresies and schisms are cast forth from the Church, that every quarrel and dissent is pacified. In it is found perfect counsel and fitting instruction by each and every degree in the Church. By it the snares of devils and vices are expelled from every faithful one in the Church. For the divine Scripture is a mother and a gentle nurse to all the faithful ones who meditate and consider it, and who are nurtured until they are chosen sons of God through its counsel. For the Wisdom bountifully distributes to her sons the many savours of the sweet liquor and the pleasures of the spiritual food, whereby they are continually inebriated and gladdened.

[1] Facsimile, p. 251[b], line 9. Translated by O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 376, 377.

6. Of the Christian Sacraments we may take the list given by the Roman church, viz., Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and Extreme Unction. The Sacraments.

Baptism is mentioned passim in the documents now printed. That by Baptism the person baptised casts off the sin of his parents is stated in p. 316, l. 16. The grace of forgiveness of sins through baptism is mentioned in Wb. 14[c], 19, and in Tur. 45. We are reborn in Christ (*adgainemmar ni hi Críst*), Ml. 66[b], 6. Baptism.

Confirmation (Ir. *cosmait*, a loan from *consummatio*) is referred to in pp. 368, 372, 484, 551. Confirmation.

As to the Eucharist, which Patrick administers as a viaticum, p. 316, the following passage from the Lebar Brecc[1] may be cited to show the views of the mediaeval Irish on the subject:— The Eucharist.

IS ránn ele di*diu* don ghill sin forácbad *icon* ecl*ais* dia comdídnad .i. corp Cr*ist* 7 a fhuil idbairth*er* f*or* altorib na Cr*istaid*e.

Now there is another part of that pledge which hath been left with the Church to console her, even Christ's Body and His Blood, which are offered on the altars of the Christians.

IN corp ón rogénair[2] o M*uir*e Óig ingin,[3] cen díth n-óige, cen scailind n-indiuda, cen lath*ar* ferrdai, 7 rocrochad ó Iud*aid*ib amirsech*aib* ar tnúth 7 f*or*mat, 7 itracht iar tredenus a bás, 7 suides f*or* deis Dé Ath*ar* in nim hi ngloir 7 immiadamlai fiad ainglib nime, IS he in corp sin am*al* ata isi[n]morgloir domelait na fíreoin do méis Dé .i. don altoir nóib. Uair is he in corp-sa sétlón sáidb*ir* na n-írisech athásenait iar s*ét* ailithre 7 aithrige in tsoegail if*us* isind ath*ar*dai némdai.

The Body which was born of Mary the perfect Maiden, without destruction of virginity, without opening of the womb, without male presence, and was crucified by unbelieving Jews from spite and envy, and arose after three days out of death, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father in heaven, in glory and honour before heaven's angels, it is that Body, even as it is in the great glory, which the righteous consume off God's table, even off the holy altar. For this Body is the rich viaticum of the faithful who journey along the road of the pilgrimage and repentance of the world here into the heavenly fatherland.

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[1] p. 251[b] of the facsimile. O'Curry, *Lectures*, pp. 613, 614, translated ibid., p. 377.

[2] MS. rógenair.

[3] MS. ingine.

IS he sin síl na hesergi isin mbethaid suthain dona fírenaib. IS he *immorro* is bunad 7 is adbur etarthuitme dona héc-raibdechu nach cretit 7 dona collaidib nach inntsamlaiget cia chretit.

That is the seed of the resurrection into the eternal life to the righteous. It is, moreover, the foundation and cause of ruin to the impious, who believe not, and to the carnal, who do not resemble it though they believe.

Mairg di*diu* cri*staide* na*ch* indtsamlaigend in corp noem-sa in Choimded iar cáinbesaib, hi ndeirc 7 i trocaire, uair is isin churp-sa fogabar desmi-recht na deerci doróisce cech ndeeirc .i. a thidnocul fén cen chinaid darcend chinad síl Adaim.

Woe, then, to the Christian who resembles not this holy Body of the Lord by pure morals, in charity and in mercy! For in this Body is found an example of the charity that excels every charity, even giving Itself without guilt for the guilt of the sons of Adam.

IS he sin *immorro* óige 7 comlanti*us* na hirse cathaledai am*al* for*chantar* isin scriptuir nóib 7rl.

That, then, is the perfection and fulness of the Catholic Faith as is taught in the holy Scripture.

To this may be added the Würzburg gloss 11^d 7: 'it is a re-crucifixion of Christ because they go to Christ's Body *indigne*.'

Penance. Repentance after sin is mentioned, p. 316, l. 18, and in the Würzburg glosses, 14 c. 19, we read of *dilgud pectho tre aithirgi* (forgiveness of sin through repentance) and of *adláig bite oc pennit* (ex-laymen who are doing penance) in æclesiis. In Ireland every sin could be forgiven by means of penance, except the following four: *coiblige mairb, diall fri coibdelaig, toitim fo uasalgrad, forneis coibsen* (concubitus cum cadavere, incest, falling under a high grade, disclosing confession), L. B., p. 10^b.

Confession. Confession of sins is referred to, supra, p. xix, where the word used is *cobais* for the usual *coibse*, pl. acc. *coibsena*, Wb. 6^b, 27. But the practice is not mentioned in the Tripartite Life or the Book of Armagh. The expression soul-friend (*anam-chara*), which is generally equivalent to 'confessor' or 'spiritual director' (p. 544) is applied to the angel Victor (p. 424). The cognate abstract noun *ainmchairdine* (leg. *anamchairtine*) occurs in p. 564. The proverb *colann cen chenn duine cen anamcharait* (body without head is man without confessor) shows the importance attached by the Irish to spiritual direction. Frequent confession, however, is of no profit when breach is frequent also (*ni tarba didiu in coibsenugud minic o bis in brissid minic beos*, L.B. 10^a. As to Penance, regarded as a sacrament, nothing is said here.

Matrimony.

Matrimony will be noticed when we deal with the relation of the sexes. There is nothing in the documents now published to show that it was deemed a sacrament.

Holy Orders.

Holy Orders will be noticed when we deal with the organisation of the Church. There is nothing to show that they were technically regarded as a sacrament.

Extreme unction.

Nor is Extreme Unction here mentioned.

Judgment.

7. That we must all give an account, not only of *crimina mortalia*, such as avarice (p. 377, l. 6), but even of the least sins (*rationem etiam minimorum peccatorum*) before Christ's judgment seat, see p. 359, l. 12. Life after death and resurrection after Doomsday are mentioned in p. 316, ll. 19, 20.

8. The B. V. Mary is never mentioned, either by Patrick or Secundinus, Muirchu, or Tírechán. However, of the cultus of the Virgin we have a trace in the Tripartite Life, p. 36, where a wizard who mocked at Mary's maidenhood is said to have been swallowed up by the earth. Her hair is mentioned as a relic, ibid., p. 238. But the document which shows best the feelings of the mediaeval Irish to the Virgin is the following litany, the original of which has never been published, except in facsimile.[1] O'Curry considered it to be 'as old, at least, as the middle of the eighth century.' But the forms *nit-fiu sind* ('we are not worthy'), and the infixed pronoun *ar* (us) in *nach-ar-leic*, *nar-geib*, point rather to the twelfth.

A Muire mor!	O great Mary!
A Muire as mo dona Muirib!	O Mary who art greatest of the Maries!
A romor na mban!	O greatest of women!
A rigan na n-aingel!	O queen of the angels!
A bantige*r*na ind nime!	O lady of the heaven!
A ben lán 7 forlán o rath in Spir*ta* Nóib!	O woman full and fulfilled of the grace of the Holy Ghost!
A bend*ach*ta 7 a robend*ach*ta!	O blessed and most blessed!
A m*áthair* na glóri suthaine!	O mother of the eternal glory!
A m*áthair* na hecl*ais*i nemda 7 talm*anda*!	O mother of the heavenly and earthly Church!
A m*áthair* na báide 7 ind logaid!	O mother of fondness and forgiveness!
A m*áthair* na sollsi f*or*ordai!	O mother of the preeminent light!
A onoir ind etheoir!	O honour of the ether!
A chomartha na rethinche!	O sign of tranquillity!
A dor*us* nime!	O gate of heaven!
A chomra órdhai!	O golden casket!

[1] Lebar Brecc, 74 a. A translation "taken from Curry's MSS. in Catholic University," is printed by Dr. Moran, pp. 224, 225.

A thempail na diad*achta*!	O temple of the Godhead!
A lepa na báide 7 na trócaire!	O bed of fondness and mercy!
A maise na n-óg!	O beauty of the virgins!
A bantig*er*na na ciniud!	O lady of the kindreds!
A thopair na lubgort!	O fountain of the herbgardens!
A glanad na peccad!	O cleansing of the sins!
A nige na n-anmand!	O washing of the souls!
A m*áthair* na ndílliuchta!	O mother of the orphans!
A chích na nóiden!	O breast of the infants!
A chomdígnad na truag!	O consolation of the wretched!
A rédla in mara!	O star of the sea!
A chumal Dé!	O handmaid of God!
A m*áthair* Cr*ist*!	O mother of Christ!
A irnazaid[1] in Choimded!	O spouse of the Lord!
A cruthach imar cholum!	O shapely like a dove!
A sochraid mar ésca!	O lovely like the moon!
A thogaide mar gr*éin*!	O chosen like the sun!
A díchor aithisso Eua!	O expulsion of Eve's disgrace!
A athnuiged na bethad!	O renewal of life!
A maisse na mbanscál!	O beauty of the women!
A chend na n-óg!	O head of the maidens!
A lubgortt f*or*iata!	O enclosed herbgarden!
A fírthopur glassaigthe![2]	O pure fountain locked-up!
A m*áth*air Dé!	O mother of God!
A óg suthain!	O eternal maiden!
A óg noem!	O holy maiden!
A óg threbar!	O prudent maiden!
A óg sochraid!	O lovely maiden!
A óg genmn*ach*!	O chaste maiden!
A thempail Dé bí!	O temple of Living God!
A righsuide in rig suth*ain*!	O throne of the Eternal King!
A sánctair in Spir*ta* Nóib!	O sanctuary of the Holy Ghost!
A óg do[f]reim Iese!	O maiden of the root of Jesse!
A chethair slebi Lebán!	O cedar of mount Lebanon!
A chuprisec sléibi Sióin!	O cypress of Mount Zion!
A rós corcorda i[n]fer*ainn* Iacoip!	O purple rose of the land of Jacob!
A blathnaigthech mar phailm!	O flowering like a palm!
A thoirthech mar olachrand!	O fruitful like an olive tree!
A m*ac*brethaig glórdai!	O glorious Son-bearer!
A sollsi Nazareth!	O light of Nazareth!
A gloir Ier*usalem*!	O glory of Jerusalem!
A maisi in domain!	O beauty of the world!

[1] For *irnastaid* cognate with *irnaidm*. Joseph is called *ernastaid togaide mathar in Choimded*, 'the chosen spouse of the Mother of the Lord,' L.B. 13ᵃ.

[2] cf. Canticum Canticorum, iv. 12.

A sochen*élach* in phop*uil cris*-*taid*e!
A rigan in betha!
A arad nime!

Eist guide na mbocht! Na dimienig eneda 7 osnadai na truag! B*e*rth*ar* ar ṅdúthr*acht* 7 ar n-ochsada tremutsa iṅad-*nais*e in Dúileman, air nit fíu sind fén ar n-estecht t*r*enar nd*r*ochairill*iud*.

a banntig*er*na chumachtach nime 7 talm*an*!

Dílegh ar cinta [7] ar pec-dai!

Sc*r*is ar culu 7 ar corbaid!

Tócaib na tuitmeda ina ṅdeiblen 7 na cengaltai!

Taithmig na doertha!

Lessaig tremutsa tressa ar ṅdobés 7 ar ndúal*aig*!

Tidnaicc dúinn tremutsa blatha 7 c*um*daige na soghnim 7 na sualach!

Féthnaig duinn in mB*rith*e-main ót ghudib 7 ot impidib!

Náchar-léic uait ar thróc*air*e i creich riar náimtib!

Na léic ar n-anmain do dóer*ad*!

Et nar geib chucut fén cháidche ar do chomairce!

Ailmít 7 guidmítne beo*us* t*us*a, a noem-Muire, triat mor-impide ar th'oenM*ac* .i. ar Ísu Cr*ist* M*ac* Dé bií, c*ur*an-dítne Dia ona huilib c*um*gaib 7 aim-sigib!

O noble-born of the Christian folk!
O Queen of the world!
O ladder of heaven!

Hear the prayer of the poor! Despise not the sobs and sighs of the wretched! Let our longing and our groans be borne by thee before the Creator, for through our ill-deservingness we ourselves are unworthy to be heard.

O mighty Lady of heaven and earth!

Abolish our crimes and our sins!

Destroy our wickednesses and our corruptions!

Uplift the fallings of the feeble and the fettered!

Loose the enslaved!

Repair through thee the assaults (?) of our evil ways and our vices!

Grant to us through thee the blossoms and ornaments of the good deeds and the virtues!

Appease for us the Judge with thy prayers and with thy intercessions!

Let us not for mercy sake be (carried off) from thee in a foray before our enemies!

Nor let our souls be enslaved!

And take us to thyself for ever under thy protection.

We beseech and pray thee, further, O holy Mary, through thy great intercession with thy only Son, even Jesus Christ, Son of living God, that God may protect us from all the straits and temptations!

Et cúin[n]ig dúinn o Dia na ndúl co fágbamne uli uad dílgud 7 logud dar n-ulib pecthaib 7 cintaib, 7 co fágbam uadsum beous triat impide-siu síraittreb na flatha némda tria bithu na mbethad, i fiadnaise noem 7 noemóg in domain. Ros-airil-lem, ros-aittreuam in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

And ask for us from the God of the elements that we may all obtain from Him forgiveness and pardon of all our sins and crimes, and that we may obtain from Him, moreover, through thy intercession, the lasting habitation of the heavenly Kingdom for ever and ever in the presence of the saints and holy virgins of the world. May we deserve it, may we inhabit it in saecula saeculorum! Amen.

Angels. 9. Angels are mentioned, *passim.* The nine ranks of those that have not fallen, in p. 258, and see the *Lebar Brecc*, p. 72[b]. An anonymous angel cleanses the king's hearth for Patrick (p. 14); another, named Victor, counsels Patrick during his captivity, pp. 18, 300, 510; guides him to Germanus, brings him a letter, p. 226, and is the angel of the Scotic race, as Michael was the angel of the Hebrews (p. 414). Angels bring Trea's veil from heaven (p. 168), chant at mass (p. 396), and grieve over Patrick's body, pp. 410, 486.

10. The fall of the angels is referred to (p. 258), but not that of Adam; though the fauna of his paradise is mentioned (p. xxx).

II.—The Family.

Here we shall consider, 1. The Family. 2. Relations of the Sexes. 3. Parent and Child. 4. Fosterer and Foster-child, and 5. Master and Slave.

1. The Family.—This was called *fine*; but the texts now printed throw no light upon its nature. A parricide is called *fingalach*, and, according to a canon ascribed to Patrick, p. 507, he is punished with death.

2. Relations of the Sexes.—Marriage is a recognised institution, and the word for 'husband' is *fer*, those for 'wife' are *ben*, *commám* (p. 14, l. 4), and *sétig*. To woo is *tochmarc*, to wed (or perhaps to betroth) a woman to a man is *ernaidm*, p. 176, l. 29, with which *irnazaid*, *ernastaid*, 'spouse,' supra, p. clxvi, is cognate. A married pair is denoted by *lánamain*, pp. 28, 246. But polygamy existed, and hence Patrick, like St. Paul, requires for the bishopric of Leinster a 'a husband of one wife' (*fer óen-sétche*, p. 188, l. 27). A glimpse of the marriage-usages is afforded by the account of Patrick's wedding, *banais* (pp. xlviii, 20, 449).

The newly wedded pair are put on the wedding-night '*into a* house apart.'

The existence of a married clergy in Britain is clearly evidenced, 1, by Patrick's own Confession (p. 357), according to which his father was a deacon and his paternal grandfather a priest, and, 2, by the sixth of the canons attributed to Patrick, Auxilius and Iserninus, and cited supra, p. cxxx.

Widows are mentioned in one of the canons, infra, p. 607, the king being required to be their defender.

A concubine, *ban-chara*, is mentioned (p. 861), and Patrick unhesitatingly blesses her and her offspring. But the views of Old-Irish ecclesiastics as to connexion with a harlot (*mertrech*) will be found in Wb. 9[d], 4, 5.[1]

The stories told in the Cáin Adamnáin, p. xxii, supra, and the note to the *Calendar of Oengus*, pp. cxlvi, cxlvii, are probably exaggerations; but there can be little doubt that women were compelled to go to battle, and were in other respects treated with cruelty and contempt.

3. Parent and Child.—The documents now printed throw little light on this relation. Kings are not to allow their sons 'impie agere' (p. 506), whence it would seem that in Ireland, as elsewhere, the father's authority over his son was absolute. On the other hand, the assignment of Benén to Patrick (p. 454) is made by Benén's family, not his parents. The father slept with his children (p. 392), and incest was not an unusual consequence.

Exposure of children is not here evidenced; those 'qui iectant infantes super æclessiam' are mentioned in p. 155, l. 23.

That children were desired is inferrible from one of the penalties annexed to the breach of the contract mentioned in p. 154, l. 21, 'children are not born to him thereafter.'

The obligations of a son to his widowed mother are referred to by Adamnán, p. 89[a] of the Schaffhausen Codex: Sed post patris sepultionem iterum fratres té acriter compellent, ut matri etiam debita pietatis inpendas obseqüia.

Women seem to have been delivered on a flagstone (p. 8), a piece of rowan-tree being placed in their hand.

4. Fosterer and Fosterchild.—The relations of fosterer (*aite* 'nutritor,' *muimme* 'nutrix'), and fosterling (*dalte*) seems to have been in Ireland almost of more importance than that of parent and child. There was sometimes a plurality of fosterers. Thus Cormac, son of Enda, had four, and King Loegaire's daughters naively ask Patrick whether God's Son had many fosterfathers (si Filium eius nutrierunt multi).

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[1] See, however, the curious story of the wealthy and honoured cleric Lugaid, in Adamnán's Vita Columbae, i. 38, 39, ed. Reeves.

The wizard Caplait is said (p. 102, l. 30) to have fostered one of King Loeguire's daughters.

The authority exercised by the fosterer over the fosterling is exemplified by the story told in p. 212, ll. 15–18.[1] It was probably sometimes tyrannical, and therefore kings are enjoined (p. 507) to be defenders of fosterlings.

A fosterbrother (*comalta*) is mentioned (p. 88), and Patrick (p. 90) calls a son of his old master, Miliuc, his fosterbrother. The cognate Welsh *cyfaillt* means 'friend.'

5. Master and Slave.—The notices of this relation are few and not very trustworthy. The statement, for example, p. 440, l. 22, that the pagan Irish used to free their slaves in the seventh year, seems, like so much in the legend of Patrick, suggested by the Bible. The story of Patrick's wedding to a bondmaid seems to show that marriage of slaves was permitted. But the statement in Fiacc's hymn, v. 3, that during Patrick's six years of slavery he ate no human food, if not a mere poetic exaggeration, tends to show that in other respects slaves were harshly treated by laymen. A heavy penance (a hundred blows on the hands and bread and water for a night) is imposed on a Culdee who curses or disgraces his gillie (L.B. 10[b]).

The word for master was *coimdiu* 'lord.' The words for bondsman were *mug*, gen. *moga* (identical with the Gothic *magus*) and *mogaid*: *gnia* or *gníad* (lit. workman) also occurs (pp. 404, 408), and *timthirthidi* 'attendants' is found in Wb. 8[c], 11. A bondmaid was called *cumal* (which seems cognate with the Old Latin *camilla*), *inailt*, *cacht*, and *bantraill*. 'Slavery' was *moxsaine* (p. 32, l. 5) = *mugsaine*, or *doére* (p. 412). The slave seems to have had a peculiar tonsure called *berrad moga* (p. xlix), or *irla* (p. 509, note 2).

The master's authority over his slave seems to have been boundless. Thus Derglam sends his slave to slay Patrick, (p. 110).

To the master's possession of his slave the word *selbad* is applied.

The word for redemption from bondage is *taithcricc* (p. 430), and a form of manumission is mentioned by Adamnán (Schaffhausen Codex, p. 89[a]): té . . . libertate donabit, cingulum ex more captiui de tuís resoluens lumbis.

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[1] The word *alumnus* here used for 'fosterer,' should have been placed in the Index of Hiberno-Latin words, infra, p. 660. Et qui alit et alitur alumnus dici potest, Isidorus, Orig. 10, 1.

III.—The State.

This will be treated under the four heads :—*a.* Civil. *b.* Legal. *c.* Military. *d.* Ecclesiastical.

a. Civil.

The tribe was called *clann* (children, pl. *clanna*, p. 424), *cenél*, p. 126, or *tuath*, pl. *túatha* (pp. 406, 408), the latter word cognate with the Umbrian-Oscan *tauta, tota, touta*, 'city,' and the Gothic *thiuda*, 'people.' *Túath* is also applied to the whole population of the island (p. 408).

The tribe held meetings (*dála*), and the statement (p. 208) that the Dési held theirs at night, shows that, as a rule, these meetings were held in the day. The meeting-place was called *forrach* (p. 134.) The assembly was called *airecht* (p. 138). When it met, and what it discussed, does not here appear.

The head of each tribe seems to have been called a *rí*, gen. *ríg*,[1] a word cognate with *rex* and *rāj*, but not quite equivalent in meaning. Patrick appears to use the words *rex* (p. 372, l. 21) and *regulus* (pp. 369, l. 22, 378, l. 8) as synonymous. Major and minor kings are mentioned, p. 68, and the *ardríge* (overkingship) of a certain district is mentioned, p. 210, l. 14. The consort of a *rí* was called *rigain* = Skr. rājnī, and his heir-apparent a *rígdamna* (p. 60). It is not clear how the *rí* and the *rígdamna* were chosen.

The *rí* had a *rechtaire* (steward or reeve) who looked after his tributes. These were rendered either in service—such as cleansing the hearth of the king-house or palace (p. 14)—or in kind, such as curd and butter (p. 14). Such a tribute was called *cís*, a loan from the Latin *census*. The native words are *borime* or *borome* (pp. 554, 556), cognate with *φόρος*, *cáin*, pp. 212, 214, where Colgan renders the word by *pensio* (tax, impost), and *tobach*, the collector of which was called *toibgeóir*, L. H. 26.

The king's residence was called *rightech* ('kinghouse'); and a *tech n-imacallma* = 'house of conversation,' is mentioned (p. 60), in which his household (*munter*) assembled, and where he probably gave audience, and held councils. His councillors

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[1] *Torc*, gen. *tuirc*, p. 534, was another word for king, so apparently is *ardrach*, p. 226, l. 13. Whether *mál*, p. 336, meant 'king' or 'noble' is not clear. *Abb* (the Latin *abbas*) is used for 'king' by Gilla Coemain, p. 535.

should be senes sapientes et sobrii (p. 507, l. 28). His edicts were called *esngaire*, Ml. 105ᵃ 6.

The overking of Ireland is called *ardrí*, or *rí Temrach* (king of Tara), or simply *rí* p. 42. Adamnán, p. 36ᵇ, styles him totius Scotiae regnatorem. His sole qualification was belonging to the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages.[1] He was called *rí co fressabra* 'king with opposition,' under the circumstances described in p. 524.[2] *Ardflaith* (pl. n. *ardlathi* Wb. 1a 3) was used for 'sovran' or 'chief prince.' A joint reign (*comflathius*) is mentioned, p. 526. But this seems exceptional.

Hostages. The kings maintained their authority (O. Ir. *giallae*, 'ditio') by a system of hostageship (*giallnae*, p. 58, *eterius*, p. 462). 'Hostages (*géill*) to kings' is one of the four *nemid* or privileges mentioned in the ancient story told infra, p. 564. The Scandinavian invaders took hostages from the Irish, and the recapture of these hostages (*giallu Hérenn*) by Maelsechlainn is recorded, infra, p. 522. The word *giall*, hostage = W. *gwystl*, is found also in the Teutonic tongues: A.S. *gísel*, ON. *gísl*, O.H.G. *gîsal*, now *Geisel*.

The passage in p. 186 as to the measure of meal which Cilline had brought out of the palace seems to show that the king supported his poorer followers. His other duties are set forth, infra, p. 507, and in the Sermo ad Reges, *Lebar Brecc*, p. 37ᵇ.

Nobles. Under the king were various classes of nobles and gentlemen, called in the documents now printed *flaithi*, *airig*, and *maithi*; in Latin, satrapae (gl. *erríg*, Ml. 67ᵈ 17), duces (*tigerni*), principes (*airchinnig*), et optimates (p. 278), or potentes, p. 210. Regulus is glossed by *rígán*, and in Ml. 51ᵈ 21 subregulis by *foriganib*. The rest of the population seems to have been divided into free (*sóir*, *sochenélaig*) and unfree (*dóir*, *dochenélaig*), or *aithich*.

Social observances. Social observances are numerous. Thus we read of visiting (p. 42), standing up (p. 44), kneeling or prostration (pp. 46, 220, 234, 282, l. 7), as acts of reverence. Cleansing the hoofs of the horse of the person sought to be honoured (p. 144, l. 10) is the strangest of these acts. Walking *desel* 'righthandwise,' *dextrorsum*, i.e., with the right hand towards the person or thing to be honoured, formerly practised in Gaul,[3] and still in India,[4] is frequently mentioned in Irish books. But in the documents now printed it is only once recorded, in connexion, namely, with the site of Patrick's *cathair* at Armagh (p. 472, l. 30). Almost

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[1] Reeves, *Columba*, p. 68, note K.

[2] And see *The Book of Rights*, ed. O'Donovan, p. xiv.

[3] τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι, Posidonius cited by Athenaeus, iv., p. 142.

[4] Skr. dakshinam kri.

all the published literature on this curious subject is referred to by the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, *On the Ceremonial Turn called Desiul*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for March 1877, Vol. I., Ser. II., and by Prof. Tawney, *Kathásaritságara*, I., 98, 99, 573.

The solitary instance of the use of a honorific title is in p. 218, where the charioteer, Odrán, addresses his master, Patrick, as *a bobba Pátraic!* The solitary mention of the way in which social contempt was expressed is in p. 138, when Patrick prophesied that a certain tribe who had stoned him, would be 'under spittles and wisps and mockery in every assembly.' What these wisps were is not clear.

In this place may be noticed the *geisi* or *gessa*, injunctions or tabus, which seem to have been so important in ancient Irish life. These injunctions were either to do or to forbear doing some act, either generally or under certain circumstances. They might be binding on an individual or on the community. An example is given, infra, p. 42. It was a *gess* for any one in Ireland to light his fire on a certain night before the fire of Tara was kindled. Patrick unwittingly 'struck the paschal fire,' and thereby committed a *coll gese*. Here the penalty was death. The same penalty was inflicted on King Conaire for violating his special *gessa*, namely, going to make peace between disputants before they came to him: allowing three red horsemen to ride before him: permitting plunder in his realm, &c. But in most cases it was probably only social ostracism.[1] The *gessa*.

b. Legal.

When there are no statutory enactments, no body of judges authorised to prescribe and enforce rules for the nation, the distinction between law, usage, and morality must be slight indeed; and such terms as *recht* ('law'), p. 564, l. 24, *forbonn* (harsh law, p. 564, l. 20), *corus* ('proper order'?), 484, l. 7, 552, l. 14, *nós* ('custom'?), *béscna* (moral law?, p. 34, l. 2), *rechtgae* (jurisprudence?, p. 562, l. 15), *cain*, gen. *cána*, pp. 42, 504, l. 10), and the loanword *riagol*, (rule, p. 484, l. 4) can only be rendered with approximate accuracy.

In the simplest department, that of criminal law, we find (p. 507) the following treated as crimes, as acts, that is to say, punishable by the king as representing the community: theft, Crimes.

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[1] The *gessa* of the Roman Flamen Dialis will occur to every scholar. See on the whole subject O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, xlvi–xlviii. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, 139, 279.

parricide, perjury, adultery, impiety. The story told in p. 582 shows that murder was a capital offence. Attempts to poison are often mentionod. See pp. xi, xlvi, li, supra, and pp. 54, 182, 381 infra. Poison-making wizards are mentioned in p. 138. The guilty person was called *bibdu* or *cintach*, p. 564, l. 30.

Punishments. The punishments mentioned in the documents now printed are death, banishment, and sending adrift on the sea.

Death is inflicted by beheading (p. 174, l. 14), drowning (p. 224, l. 10), or driving a chariot over the criminal (pp. 166, l. 2, 234, l. 18, 394, l. 27). To these we may add from the mediaeval romances burning (*loscud*), and hanging (*crochad*). Crucifixion or the payment of seven ancillae was the penalty annexed to the shedding the blood of a bishop, abbot, or scribe, Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen*, 140. Deprival of burial may have been annexed to capital punishment (p. 374, l. 9).

Banishment is mentioned once, namely, in p. 524, when Diarmait's son is said to have been put over sea (*rocured mace dar muir*).

The punishment of sending adrift on the sea is described in p. 222, and more fully in p. 288. The criminal must go unarmed to the shore, having nothing but a small and vile garment. He must bind his feet with an iron fetter (*cos-glas*, Ml. 83[c], 10) and fling the fetterkey into the water. He must then enter a *nauis unius pellis*, a coracle whose wicker framework was covered with hide only one fold deep, and without food, oar, or rudder commit himself to the mercy of the sea and wind. A somewhat similar punishment existed in Iceland, but the Icelanders gave the felon oars, flint, and steel, and a supply of victuals.

Besides these punishments, there were doubtless flogging (the word for scourge, *srogell*, is borrowed from flagellum), and imprisonment in the stocks (*cep* = Lat. cippus) and in bonds (*cumrecha*, Wb. 53[a] 5). Patrick himself was once fettered with iron for a fortnight (p. 372, ll. 26, 27).

Succession.

The right of certain persons to succeed to the property of the deceased owner is recognised in the stories told in pp. 108–110 and 320, and in p. 309. In the former case, as we are told by the Tripartite Life, two brothers fight a duel about their deceased father's land (*im ferann an-athar iarna héc*) and in Tírechán's Latin (p. 320) this is explained by *uoluerunt diuidere hereditatem.* In the latter case, seven sons of Amolngad argue a question of heirship before King Loiguire and Patrick, who decide (without, apparently, any legal assistance) that the sons shall 'divide the inheritance amongst them into seven parts,' that they shall, in

other words, take in equal shares as tenants in common. And one of them then 'immolates' his share and his son to Patrick's God and to Patrick.

As to the difference between the *ecclesiastica*, or religious, *progenies* and the *plebilis*, or secular, *progenies*, in the case of the church at Trim, see infra, p. 336, and bishop Reeves' *Columba*, p. 355, note c.

These are cases of succession *ab intestato*. Whether the Celts had, without aid from the Romans, evolved the notion of a will is doubtful. The word for 'bequest,' *aidacht* (also spelt *audacht*[1] and *edocht*) occurs four times in p. 346, but always in connexion with ecclesiastics.

The word for inheritance or heritage, *orbe*, gen. *orpi*, acc. pl. *orbe*, occurs in pp. 132, 140. 'Disinheritance' is expressed by *diorpus*, p. 132. In Ml. 51^d 27, heredum is glossed by *orbaman*. The compound *com-arbe* (Mid. Ir. pl. *comorbada*, p. 542), means, not 'co-heir,' as is usually supposed, but 'successor.' The cognates in other European languages are *ὀρφανός*, *orbus*, Goth. *arbja*, Germ. *Erbe*.

The collective ownership in which the greater part of the land in Ireland was doubtless held is evidenced by the record (p. 337, l. 26) of the grant which the genus (leg. gens?) of a certain lady made to Bineán.

But that individual, as distinguished from collective, ownership existed in Ireland in very ancient times appears from the passages above referred to, from the expression *á or[be] saindiles* in Ml. 51^d 28, from Enda's reference to his ninth ridge (or ninth part of his ridge?) throughout Ireland (p. 80), and from the mention in p. 192 of the fifth ridge (or the fifth part of the ridge?) of Fiacc's father. Whether this individual ownership was absolute, or subject to resumption by the tribe, is a question on which no light is thrown by the documents now printed.

Contract :—

Two words for species of 'contract' occur in the documents now printed, viz., *ernaidm*, pp. 86, l. 29; 176, l. 29, and *cotach*, p. 154, l. 21. In p. 176 *ernaidm* is applied to a contract of marriage or betrothal. 'Pactum' is regularly glossed by *cairde* or *smacht*. See Ml. 91^b 13, 100^a 4. Examples of the contract of sale (or rather barter) will be found in p. 340. 'I buy' is *din-*

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[1] See Cormac's glossary, s.v. *audacht*, and O'Donovan's Supplement to O'Reilly, s.v. *udhacht*. Another word, said to mean 'bequest' is *cendaite* or *cennaite*. It is possible that *aidacht* and *cennaite* merely mean donations *mortis causa*. In the Laws, ii. 272, l. 14, *ainbechta* is rendered by 'illegal bequest.'

clim, *cennaigim*, *crenim* or *crecim*. 'I pay' is *íccaim*. 'I sell' is *renim* (= πέρνημι), or *reccaim*. 'Price' is *lóg*. Merces is glossed by *cundrad*. 'Trader' is *cennaige*. 'I exchange' is *malartaigim*. Lending (*uain*) and *airlicud* (lending on interest) are mentioned in Wb. 31c 5. Fenerator is glossed by *airliethid*. Pignus is glossed by *gell*, Ml. 23d 16, 27a 6; debiti by *feich*, ib., 55a 7. The contract of lease is evidenced by the expression *sencleithe cona ferann* (three *sen-cleithi* with their land), p. 72; *cóicc sencleithi deucc Enda Artich* (E. A.'s fifteen sen-cleithi), p. 80. A purchase of a piece of land, with its appurtenances—'wood, and field, and meadow' (= wald, feld, und wiese), with its *less* and kitchen-garden, is mentioned in p. 340. And in a gloss contained in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 29d 23, we have evidence that, in the ninth century, Irishmen used to buy land as a provision for their unborn children. In the case of the *cotach*, the penalty for breach is two-fold; non-birth of children and non-decay of the body when buried. But the performance of a contract seems to have been generally secured by *rátha* (sureties or guarantors), which were generally human beings, but occasionally (as in p. 566) natural objects, such as the sun, wind, &c. The words for oath are *oeth* and *fírluge*. For 'sanction' the word is probably *násad*, p. 566, l. 28, which Dr. Petrie (i.e., O'Donovan or Curry) rendered by 'vengeance,' but Mr. Plummer equates with Lat. *nexus*.[1]

Cairdes, p. 74, l. 5, is rather a treaty than a contract.

Commendation :—

Commending churches is mentioned in pp. 68, 335, l. 29, and 337. The verb used in *commendavit*, of which the Irish equivalent is *ro-aithni*. English lawyers will be reminded of the practice of the Crown 'commending' livings to bishops in the poorer sees. See also Du Cange, II. 444.

Legal Procedure :—

In the documents now printed we have mention made of 1, the ordeal; 2, the duel; 3, composition; 4, pleading in court; and 5, reprisal (seizure of moveables).

Ordeals. 1. The ordeal by water (iudicium aquae) is referred to in p. 56. The ordeal by fire in the same place, and in pp. 88, 90, where a woman with whom bishop Mel was said to have committed fornication, clears herself of the charge by carrying fire in her *casal*.

[1] The *nessaib* (gl. sanctionibus) cited by Mr. Plummer, Rev. Celt., vi. 172, from Ml. 38a 1, is an erroneous reading, which Prof. Ascoli himself has corrected. The MS. has *messaib*.

2. The duel (*nith, debaid, comrac, urgal, roi*[1]) seems mentioned in pp. 108, 320. Two brothers, Bibar and Lochru, fight about some land inherited from their father. Tírechán, or rather his ignorant copyist, says that a lignum (leg. licium?) contensionis, called *caam* by the heathen, was set. In this *caam* (= campus?) the brothers fall to with their two-edged swords. Duel.

3. Composition for crime (*éric*) is referred to in p. 42, ll. 4, 5, where the king proclaims that neither gold nor silver should be taken from him who should be guilty of kindling a fire before the fire of Tara was lit. It seems to have co-existed with the more modern practice of punishing crime by the State.

4. Of pleading in court a curious instance is found in pp. 126, 121, 309. Seven brothers *exierunt in judicium* (submitted to the jurisdiction) of the overking, who first decides a point as to the right to begin, and then, assisted by Patrick, investigates 'causam hereditatis illorum,' and decrees that they shall divide it into seven shares. The Irish word for 'cause' is *caingen*. *Fiadain* glosses testem, Ml. 38[d] 11; *forcell* adtestatio, Ml. 42[c] 1: *in mesid* judicialiter, Ml. 51[c] 21. Pleading.

5. Reprisal by distress of moveables (*athgabáil*, pignoris capio) is declared (p. 564, l. 35) to be a privilege of champions. This subject has been so fully discussed by Sir H. Maine (*Early History of Institutions*), the late Sir Samuel Ferguson (*On the Rudiments of Common Law discoverable in the Senchas Mór*), and Prof. D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Revue Celtique*, vii. pp. 20-31) that I will here only refer to those acute and learned essays. It seems to have been the only means of compelling submission to the jurisdiction of the brehon. Reprisal.

6. Fasting. Another means of enforcing a right or duty is fasting (*troscud*), which has long ago been compared with the Indian dharna. It forms part of the procedure *athgabáil*, above noticed, and is mentioned thrice in the documents now published. First, in p. 218, when Patrick fasts against (lit. upon) a merciless master to compel him to have compassion upon his slaves. Secondly, in p. 418, where Germanus and Patrick fast against a heretical city to compel it to become orthodox. Thirdly, in p. 556, when Patrick fasts against the pagan king Loeguire to constrain him to his will. I have suggested (infra, p. 560 n.) that the primeval 'sanction' of the practice was the suicide by starvation of the person fasted against. In India another kind of *dharna* consists in 'constructing a circular enclosure called a kurh, in which the Brahmans raise a pile of wood or other combustibles, Fasting.

[1] See Prof. d'Arbois de Jubainville's paper *Des Attributions judiciaires de l'autorité publique chez les Celtes*, Revue Celtique, vi. 12.

and, betaking themselves to fasting, real or pretended, place within the area of the kurh an old woman with a view to sacrifice her by setting fire to the kurh on the approach of any person to serve them with a process, or to exercise coercion over them on the part of the Government or its delegates.'[1]

Here we have a possible explanation of the strange story of Miliuc's self-cremation, told in pp. 38, 276. Miliuc, who was a wizard as well as a king, when Patrick drew nigh to constrain him and his race to embrace Christianity, constructed a *Karh* in order to compel the missionary to desist from his attempt; Patrick disregarded his preparations, so he burnt himself alive, in the belief that Patrick, by burning himself alive (according to the rigour of the etiquette), or from dread of some god's displeasure at having been the cause of Miliuc's horrible death, would leave the ancient heathenism intact. But of course Miliuc may have been a devotee, like the Mexican Nanahuatzin, who leapt into a fire to propitiate the gods.

Brehons.

7. Judges. The judges (*brithemain*, Anglicised *brehons*), or official arbitrators, by whom the Irish laws were administered, seem mentioned by Patrick (p. 372, ll. 31–34) as the recipients of payments amounting to not less than the price of fifteen men. The derivative *brithemnacht* glosses sanctione in Ml. 40[a].

A brehon, named Erc (afterwards a bishop), is named as one of Patrick's household, and was doubtless useful from his knowledge of customary law. The brehon had, before Patrick's advent, the right to deliver judgment *ar roscadaib* ocus *fasaigib* (p. 566), which I have rendered, with some doubt, by 'on maxims and precedents.'

Judices ecclesiae are mentioned, p. 507, and some of their duties are prescribed. Whether they had any civil jurisdiction is not clear. The direction that they should have no *timorem hominum* suggest that they had some such jurisdiction.

c. Military.

On military matters not much light can be thrown by such documents as are printed in this work.

Warrior.

The warrior or champion is called *trénfer*, p. 264, *fennid*, gen. *fendeda*, pl. dat. *fennethaib*, p. 565, and *óc* (literally juvenis), p. 510, l. 95. In the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 3[c] 1, stipendium is explained as the name of the remuneration (*lóg*) which is given to soldiers for military service (*doberr do miledaib ar mílte*).

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[1] Beaufort, Part II., p. 780. See Sir James Stephen, Hist. Crim. Law, ii., 321.

Their offensive weapons were the sword (*claideb* = Skr. khadga), which was sometimes of iron (ferreos gladios, p, 300, l. 32, and two-edged, p. 320), and adorned beluinís . . . dolatis . . . dentibus (Adamnán, p. 88[b]), and the spear (*gae*, p. 72 = the Gaulish *gaison*), of which the shaft was called *crann*, p. 142), and the point *rinn* (pl. dat. *rennaib*, p. 536, l. 6). Jaculum is glossed by *airchor*. Slings and battle-stones are often mentioned. The axe, *biail*, is mentioned, p. 136, but as being a tool, not a weapon. Nothing is said of the bow (*fidboc*), which the Irish seem never to have used in war, possibly because the dampness of the climate rendered the bowstring (*tét fidboic*) untrustworthy :[1] possibly, also, because archery was ineffective in a densely wooded country. Offensive weapons.

Their defensive armour was first, the shield, *sciath*, which had a rim (*immbel*), and reached to the chin (*p.* 44), and, second, the corslet, *lúirech*, borrowed from the Lat. *lorica*. The corslet must have been known to the Irish before the eighth century, as the word is used metaphorically in Fiacc's hymn. There is reason to think that it was sometimes made of horn ; but iron is the only material mentioned in this behalf in the documents now published. See p. xxxi. Defensive armour.

Armgasciud (p. 566) seems to be a general expression, comprising both spear and shield. *Atharqubu* glosses arma, Ml. 66[c] 11.

A band of warriors was called *buiden* (p. 148), pl. *buidnea* (gl. turmae, gl. cuneos), Ml. 112[b] 7, 9, or *án*, Ml. 33[d] 17, or *drong*, pl. n. *druing*, p. 476. The first of these words is applied only to footsoldiers (*is for cois in buiden*, II. 2, 16, col. 93), and is cognate with Eng. *band ;* the second with the Latin *agmen ;* the third is the late Latin *drungus*, whence the Greeks of the Empire took their δροῦγγος. An army was called *dúnad* (p. 324), *slúag* (= W. *llu*), p. 150, whence *slógad*, 'an expedition,' Ml. 115[a] 8, *socraite*, p. 562, or *arbar*, Ml. 62[b] 13. The van was *tossach*, p. 150; the rear *dered*. The only words bearing on the art of war is *etirnaid*, 'ambush,' pp. 46, 381.

No mention is here made of war-chariots. The existence of cavalry seems implied in the story (p. 182) that the Húi Lilaig pursued Patrick *coicait marcach* (with fifty horsemen), to slay him, and in the gloss *inna marcachlachtae* (gl. aequitatús), Ml. 72[b] 28. Cavalry.

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[1] Nothing proves the *Unechtheit* of Macpherson's Ossian more than its frequent references to archery. According to Strabo, some of the Belgae used bows, but the arrow was chiefly employed for killing birds.

d. Ecclesiastical.

1. Organisation :—

The documents now published mention the following kinds of male ecclesiastics :—

1. archiepiscopus, pp. 353, l. 30; 511, l. 1; *uasalepscop*, p. 444, whose office is called *archiepiscopatus*, p. 510.
2. bishop, *epscop*, 158, l. 4; *ard-epscop*, pp. 404, l. 4.; 528, l. 3.
3. *uasalsacart* = archipresbyter, p. 98; *ard-senoir*, p. 526.
4. priest, *sacart* = sacerdos ; *sacart méise*, pp. 264, 266, 574; lit. 'priest of the table,' and rendered 'chaplain' by O'Donovan; *cruimther* = prebyter, presbyter, *sruith*, 230, l. 20.
5. archdeacon, *uasaldechon*, pp. 30, 104.
6. deacon, *dechon*, *deochan*, *deochain*, pp. 8, 432; diaconus, pp. 303, l. 4, 305, 357, 365.
7. subdeacon, subdiaconus, p. 305, l. 9.
8. exorcist (pp. 303, l. 4; 305, l. 25).
9. ostiarius, *aistire* (pp. 264, 574) = *fer bein in chluic*, 'bell-striker,' Four Masters, A.D. 448.

The acolyte or *caindlóir* (= candelarius 'qui candelas in ecclesia defert') is not here mentioned, but the word occurs as a gloss on 'acolytus' in Wb. 24[b] 32, and in the same MS. 31[d] 20, it is said to be 'nomen gradus.' His light was called *lésboire*, Wb. 25[d] 3, or *léspaire*.

Besides these we have the anchorite (anchorita, p. 337); anchoritae aeclessiae, p. 354, l. 10, who dwelt in a *dísert*, pp. 156, l. 2; 242, l. 2; and the *macc-cléirech*, p. 156, l. 9, who seems to have been a divinity student.

The word *airchinnech* 'princeps' occurs in p. 30 (where it is applied to Pope Celestinus), 214 and 250. In Middle-Irish it generally means the manager of lands annexed to a church or monastery.

In conventual establishments we have the cynubita (*coenobita*), p. 353, and the *cellóir*[1] (= cellarius[2]) over whom were the *abb*,

[1] Félire Oengusso, p. clviii., Ml. 144[a], where *cellorib* glosses 'pruptuaris.'

[2] Reeves, *Columba*, 46, note

acc. sg. *abbaith*, p. 346, or princeps, the *secndabb* or *secnabb* (= secundus abbas), pl. n. *secndapid*, Wb. 12[b] 17, and the *ferthigis* or oeconomus. In p. 30 Pope Celestinus is called *abb* Romae, and in p. 534 the word is applied to a king of Media. Adamnán, p. 94[a], calls a nunnery 'puellarum monasterium.'

Intermediate between the regular and the parochial clergy were the Culdees, *céli Dé*), one of whom is mentioned in p. 198.

Female ecclesiastics were the *caillech* 'nun,' a derivative of *caille* = pallium, p. 252, the *caillech légind* or lectrix, corresponding with the *fer légind* of the monastery, and the *manchess* = monachissa, pp. 98, 560. We read that Mathona was a manchess of Patrick and Rodan's. The proper name *Cruimtheris*, p. 232, ll. 16, 22, is = presbyterissa. Whether she was a church-officer (Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiq.*, s.v. Widows) or the wife or widow of a presbyter, does not appear. Deaconesses (*bandechuin*) are mentioned in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 28[c]. A *ban-abb* (abbess) and *ban-airchinnech* (gl. antistita) are also mentioned, but not in the documents now published.

The ordination of bishops, priests, deacons, and clerics is often mentioned. See pp. 30, 62, 260, 262, 326, l. 21, 372 (where Patrick declares that he made no charge for 'distributing the ministry'), and 374. But no light is thrown on the manner of consecration. According to the Tripartite Life, p. 30, when Patrick was ordained bishop by Pope Caelestinus, bishop Germanus and 'Amatho king of the Romans' were present. But according to Muirchu, p. 273, Patrick was ordained by bishop Amatho-rex (leg. Matorix ?) without, apparently, any episcopal assistance. Columba went to a single bishop (Etchin) to be consecrated bishop, though, by a mistake, only a priest's orders were conferred upon him. The uncanonical practice of consecrating bishops by a single bishop seems to have prevailed in Ireland down to the twelfth century. Ordination *per saltum* also occasionally took place. An example in the present work is the case of Fiacc, pp. 402, 404, who was made a bishop without having been a priest or even a deacon.

For 'diocese' the words 'paruchia' (παροικία) and 'diocesis'[1] (διοίκησις) are used synonymously. In monastic language a parochia was the jurisdiction of a Superior over the detached monasteries of the order (Reeves, *Columba*, p. 336). The Irish bishops, as is well known, had no territorial jurisdiction.

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[1] Adamnán, p. 35[b].

The Bishop's duties.

The chief duties of the bishop are described in the following extract from the Lebar Brecc, p. 12[a], l. 1:—

ÍS de ata anmunna fer nErenn i timna Patraic, co raibe primescop cecha primtuathi inErinn fria hoirdnead oessa graid 7 fri coisecrad eclas, fri hanmchairdine do flathib 7 oirchinn[ch]ib 7 d'oes graid, fri noemad 7 bennachad a cland iar mbathis, fria forcongra lubrai cech eclasi 7 mac 7 ingean fria legend 7 crabud, ar minas legat na meic in cech aimsir, itbela in uile eclas, 7 ni bia cretim, acht duibgenntligecht hi tir nErenn.

Hence are the names of the men of Ireland in Patrick's testament, that there be a chief bishop for every chief tribe in Ireland, for ordaining ecclesiastics and for consecrating churches, for soul-friendship (spiritual direction) to princes and superiors and ordained persons, for hallowing and blessing their children after baptism, for directing the labours of every church, and boys and girls to reading and piety. For unless the boys read at every time the whole Church will perish, and there will be no belief, but black heathenism in the land of Ériu.

As to the caution which a bishop ought to show in conferring orders we are told, *ibid.*, p. 11[b], l. 45:—

Nach escop didiu dosber uasalgrad for neoch na be tualaing n-airberta i crabud 7 legend 7 anmchairdessa 7 eolas rechta 7 riagla 7 frepuide cuibde di cech pheccad archena is bibdu[1] do Dia 7 duine in t-escop sin, uair is immdergad do Crist 7 dia eclais a ndoroine, et ideo sex annis peniteat,[2] 7 tabrad secht cumala oir fria henech in Duileman beoss.

Every bishop, then, who confers high orders on anyone who is not competent to inform in devotion and reading and soul-friendship, and knowledge of law and rule and of the remedy proper for every sin besides, that bishop is guilty as regards God and man; for what he has done is a reproach to Christ and to His Church: wherefore let him do penance for six years, and let him give, besides, seven *cumals* in gold for the honour of the Creator.

[1] MS. bidba.

[2] The facsimile has: 7 idiel .ui. añ peniterc.

The duties of a priest of the small churches (do mi[n]ecl*a*sib) of the country are thus enumerated in the same manuscript, p. 11[b], l. 35:— The priest's duties

Bathis di*d*i*u* uadesi*u*m 7 comna .i. sacarbaic, 7 gabail n-ecnairce beo 7 marb, 7 oifrend cech domnaig 7 cec*h* primsollaman 7 ce*c*h primfeli. Celebrad cec*h* tratha. Na .lll. do chedul ce*c*h dia *ac*h*t* mina thoirmesci forcetul *no* anmchairdius.

Of him then (is required) baptism and communion, that is Sacrifice, and singing intercession for the living and the dead, and Mass every Sunday and every chief solemnity and every chief festival. Celebration of every canonical hour. The three fifties[1] to be sung every day unless teaching or spiritual direction prevent (him).

Baptismal rites:—

The ordinary baptismal rite is constantly referred to. Patrick himself was baptised in a well (pp. 8, 392, 432), and in a well he baptised the pregnant Fedilm (p. 134), and (it is said) twelve thousand others. That the immersion was trine appears from two glosses in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 21 d. 13, *cesu thréde in tummud* (gl. unum babtisma) 'though the dipping be a triad,' and 27[a] 14, *teora tonna tornmni* ('three waves over us') in babtismo, *trédenus dosum* ('three days to Him,' Christ) in sepulcro, as well as from the Stowe Missal, fol. 56*b*, Discendit in fontem et tingitur ter vel aspergitur. Baptism of an unborn child is twice mentioned, viz., in p. 134, and p. 327, and the rite is thus described in the Lebar Brecc, p. 11[a], l. 44:—

Bannscal alacht, dia tic galar co mbi fochraib de bas airlegth*ar* in mbathis for usc*iu* 7 fosesedar[2] in bandscal tarcend na geni, 7 dob*er*ar Fland *no* Cellach do ainmm fair, ar is coitchend do fir 7 do mhnai cec*h*t*ar* de, 7 hibed in *máthair* in usce sin cu teit tarsin ngein, 7 is bathis do.[3]

A pregnant woman, to whom disease comes so that death is near to her, let the baptism (baptismal office) be read out on water, and let the woman confess on behalf of the babe, and let Fland or Cellach be given it as a name, for either is common to man and to woman, and let the mother drink that water so that it may go over the babe; and (this) is baptism unto it.

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[1] i.e., the 150 psalms.

[2] MS. fosesegar. See Windisch's Wörterbuch, s.v. fosisiur.

[3] This, and the preceding three extracts, have been published by Bishop Reeves (with a translation by Dr. O'Donovan) in his essay on the Culdees (Dublin, 1864), pp. 92, 94, 95.

Hence it appears that confession of past sins was in Ireland, as in Carthage,[1] one of the preliminaries of baptism.

When King Loeguire's daughters were baptized Patrick blessed a white veil (*caille*, veste[m]) on their heads (pp. 102, 316). So when Patrick baptised the infant daughters of Maine he 'blessed a veil on their heads' (p. 174). For veil (*caille*) mantle (*brat*) is found in the Turin gloss 55. This was laid over the heads of the newly-baptized after the unction with chrism, which is expressly mentioned in the letter to Coroticus' subjects, infra, p. 375, as shining on the foreheads of the neophytes. Chrism is also referred to in a gloss (No. 4) in the Turin commentary on S. Mark: 'As catechumens are taught by a priest at first and are baptized, and as they are then anointed by a bishop, so,' etc.[2] A creed was repeated at the baptism (ibid., No. 68).

Confirmation :—

The rite of confirmation (*consummatio*) is thrice referred to in p. 368, note 2; in p. 372, l. 19, and in p. 484, l. 13, where it is said of Patrick *no-ordned, no-cosmad, no-coisrecad, no-bennachad* (he used to ordain, confirm, consecrate, bless). The Irish word for confirmation is *cosmait* (= consummatio), the gen. sg. of which, *cosmata*, occurs in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. *caplait* (= Med. Lat. *capillatio*, 'capillorum evulsio'):

Capla[i]t .i. nomen de chendló chásc .i. quasi capitolavium cend-díunnach .i. iarsinni berrthar cách and, ⁊ negthair a cend oc airichill a cosmata isin cáisc.

'*Caplait* ('Maunday Thursday'), a name for the chief day of Easter, i.e., quasi *capitolavium*, 'head-washing,' i.e., since every one is tonsured then, and his head is washed, in preparation for his confirmation on the Easter Sunday.'

Tonsure :—

Tonsuring, referred to in the above quotation, is frequently mentioned in this work. The nickname *Tálchenn* ('adzehead, asciciput') given by the heathen Irish to Christian priests, and to Patrick κατ' ἐξοχήν, pp. 34, 220, 448, 482), arose from this practice. Patrick converts and tonsures two wizards (pp. 101, 103), the expression used in the first being 'he put a shears (*deimess*)

[1] Tertullian *de Baptismo*, cited in Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiqq.*, s.v. Confession.

[2] Goidelica, 2d ed., p. 6. Compare the Lebar Brecc, p. 244^b, l. 17.

round his hair,' and in the second 'he clipt him' (*ro-m-berr*). Mo-chae is tonsured after baptism (p. 40), but Fiacc is tonsured (*berrthir*), apparently, before he is baptised (pp. 190, 344). In the version told in p. 40 the tonsuring seems to consist solely in shearing the beard (*tall tra Patraic a ulchai do Fiacc*). The Culdees were tonsured every month, on a Thursday (L.B. 11[b]).

Two and perhaps three kinds of tonsure are mentioned: first, the monachal (*berrad manaig*, xlix, 560; tonsura monachica, p. 510, 'ut eum in monachum tonderet,' p. 25); secondly, the servile (*berrad mogad*, xlix, berrad moga, p. 509, note: 'seruilem tonsuram,' p. 510, 'more seruorum erat tonsus,' p. 25), which may have been identical with that of Simon Magus, p. 509, note 2;[1] thirdly, perhaps the druidical tonsure (*airbacc giunnae*, p. 317, l. 11. The verbal noun for tonsuring is *bachall*, pp. 190, 402. Kinds of tonsure.

Liturgical :—

For the altar service we find in the documents now printed the following terms:—

comm[uni]o, p. 327, l. 9, whence the Ir. *commain* (acc. sg. 410). See Wasserschleben, *Irische Kanonensammlung*, 20.

eucharitzia Dei, p. 316, l. 28.

idpairt, p. 397.

oifrenn, p. 394, l. 24; *oifrider* (offertur), p. 192, l. 26.

sacrificium, 62, l. 17; Ir. *sacarbaic*, p. 192, ll. 23, 24.

viaticum [*sétlón*] uitae aeternae, 62, l. 18.

A communion anthem, beginning *Sancti venite, Christi corpus*, is mentioned, p. 396, l. 14.

Patrick's *missa* is mentioned in p. 322, as having been received by certain religious at Ached Fobuir.

The Oblation was called *oblu*, gen. *oblann*, or *oblae*, gen. *oblae*. The hallowed bread broken up for the Eucharist is called *eglogia* (εὐλογία) by Adamnán, Schaffhausen Codex, p. 63[a].

As to the mystical meaning of the eucharistic sacrifice see the Irish tracts in the Stowe Missal, pp. 64[b]–66[a], and the Lebar Brecc, p. 251.[2]

The Mixed Chalice :—

The practice of mixing water with the sacramental wine seems referred to by Tírechán, infra, p. 327, l. 9. But there are clear

[1] But the tonsure here described as that of Simon Magus seems to have been formed by shaving the hair *before* a line drawn from ear to ear. See Reeves, *Columba*, pp. xlvii, note u, 350, 351.

[2] Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxvi, 502–513, xxvii, 441–448.

references to this practice in the tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal (*fin iarum ar huisque hi caelech*, 'wine then on water into the chalice'), and in the following quotation from Lebor na hUidre, p. 117 a.

O robreca bróenan cró	When a shower of gore has speckled
brunni gabra Diarmató	The breast of Diarmait's steed
usce asa negar Grip	The water wherewith Grip[1] is washed
ni lusta fri sacarbaic.	Is not clear for the Sacrifice.

Communion in both kinds:—

That this was the practice of the early Irish Church is proved, first, from Secundinus' hymn, infra, p. 388, ll. 13, 14; and, secondly, from the legend related infra, p. 102, where Patrick says to Loegaire's daughters, 'Ye cannot see Christ unless ye first taste of death, and unless ye receive Christ's Body *and His Blood*.'[2]

Daily celebration:—

That the eucharist was offered every day seems to follow from a gloss in the Würzburg Codex Paulinus, 20[d] 13: *tresin fuil spirtáldi adoparar cach dia forsind altoir*, 'through the spiritual Blood which is offered every day upon the altar'.

The Paten:—

The paten, *patinus*, Ir. *teisc* (a loan from Lat. *discus*), or *mulloc*, is mentioned, pp. 108, 300, 313. Square patens are mentioned in p. 313, l. 26.

The Ir. *mias* (borrowed from or cognate with Lat. *mensa*) should probably be rendered, not by 'altar' (p. 34, where *mías* is glossed by *altoir*), but by 'altar-slab.' See also p. 250 for the *miasa* made by Tassach, &c. Its place was in the east of the church (p. 34).

The Chalice:—

A chalice, *cailech*, is left (p. 808) by Patrick with a nun, and he leaves in Connaught fifty altar chalices (pp. 146, 300). The chalices made by Tassach, &c. (p. 250) were doubtless of metal, probably of bronze; but four chalices of glass are mentioned in p. 94, one at each of the corners of a subterranean altar.

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[1] The steed's name.

[2] See also Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 134, 135.

The Credence-table :—

The credence-table (*menistir*, *meinistir*, *menstir*) is mentioned pp. 40, 86, 190, 250, 344, 452. Such tables were made by Tassach, &c., and were always probably of metal.

The Fistula :—

A fistula (*buinne*) of gold, through which the sacramental wine was sucked, seems mentioned in p. 86, l. 4.

The Flabellum :—

The flabellum or eucharistic fan (*culebath*) is not mentioned in the documents now published. But the Irish word, which probably means 'flyflap,' occurs as a gloss in the Carlsruhe Codex Augustinus, No. 86, and (spelt *cuilebad*, *cuilefaidh*, *cuilebaigh*) in various Middle Irish MSS. And the thing itself is represented in ancient Irish illuminations.[1]

Vestments :—

The *cassal* (pp. 56, 58, 246, 274, 384, 398) used by males as well as females, p. 108, the *cochall* (pp. 384, 398), and the *caille* = pallium used by nuns, are the only ecclesiastical garments mentioned in the documents now printed. The *cassal* is described as *bratt tollchenn*, pp. 34, 448, or 'domus (casula) capite perforato,' p. 274. A *cassula magi* is mentioned, p. 306.

As to the use of colours in sacerdotal vestments, we have, in the Tripartite Life and the Book of Armagh, only the mention of the white robes (*étaige gela*) worn by Patrick and his clerics (at matins?) beside the well of Clebach (p. 100), and the *calle finn* ('candidam vestem,' p. 316, l. 22) blessed on the heads of baptised girls (p. 102), and the neophytes (p. 375, l. 30). So Adamnán speaks only of the brethren going to church die sollempni *albati* (p. 113[b]). But in the later middle ages, in Ireland as well as on the Continent, the ecclesiastical use of colours was greatly extended. Thus the Lebar Brecc (p. 108 a, b) contains a tract in which eight colours are mentioned, and the mystical meaning of each is stated. The original[2] of this curious tract has never been published, except in facsimile. It runs as follows :— Colours.

Cachtt,[3] cia lasa tucait na datha examla ucut isin cochull n-oiffrind hitús?	Query, by whom were yon various colours first brought into the robe of Offering?

[1] Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 144.

[2] A translation (omitting the last paragraph) "from the Curry MSS. in Catholic University" is printed by Dr. Moran, in his *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, pp. 171, 172.

[3] A scribal error, due to a misreading of the compendium c̄s, i.e., *Ceist*.

Ni *anse*. Moyse m*ac* Amra dorat hi cochull oiff*r*ind Aroin m*eic* Am*r*a a brath*ar* fessin. Is eside ba *cét*shacart ir-recht Moyse.

Not hard to say. Moses, son of Amram, brought (them) into the robe of Offering of Aaron son of Amram, his own brother. He was the first priest in Moses' Law.

IS fisid cia lín dath ro be*r*ad la Moyse i cochull Áróin. Ni *anse*; *aocht* .i. buide, gorm, gel, uaine, dond, d*e*rg, dub, corcair. Hit eat sin t*r*a lin dath dligi*us* cach cochull oif*r*ind ann osin ille.

It is worth knowing how many colours were set by Moses in Aaron's robe. Not hard to say: eight; to wit, yellow, blue, white, green, brown, red, black, purple. That, then, is the number of colours which every robe of Offering is bound to have in it from that time to this.

IS fisid cid ara tucthá in saine [sin] isin cochull n-oif*r*ind sech a beth foroen dath. Ni *anse*: t*r*ia ruin ⁊ figuir.

It is worth knowing why that diversity was brought into the robe of Offering instead of its being one colour. Not hard to say: through mystery and figure.

Ni techta t*r*a do nach sacart indail[1] cuirp C*r*ist dochumm n-óif*r*ind cen chochull sroill taitnemaig imme c*us*na dath*aib* examlu ann, ⁊ c*ur*a reithe a me*n*ma fri saine ⁊ tuicse cec*h*a datha sech araile díb, ⁊ c*ur*ab lan d'faitchi*us* ⁊ d'uaman Dé a me*n*ma in tsacairt intan dos-b*er*a dia oid saine cec*h* datha f*r*i araile díb ⁊ *co* scarsat a me*n*main f*r*i huaill ⁊ dim*us* am*al* dofo*r*ne examl*acht* cec*h*a datha.

It is not fitting, then, for any priest to approach Christ's Body towards the Offering without a robe of shining satin around him, with the various colours therein. And let his mind run with the diversity and understanding of each of these several colours; and let the mind of the priest be full of watchfulness and of the fear of God when he takes heed of the diversity of each of those colours from the others, so that they withdraw his mind from arrogance and pride, as the difference of each colour denoteth.

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[1] Compare *dail* 'near,' 'within reach,' O'R.

IS *ed* *tra* doforne in mbuide intan fegus in sacart fair .i. *con*id cré 7 luaithriud in talam is ádbur dia churp, 7 *con*id isin luaithred *cét*na ragus doridise 7 *cona* taraill ceimm n-uab*air* in sacart desin iar*um*.

Now this is what the Yellow denotes, when the priest looks at it, to wit, that the earth, which is the material of his body, is clay and ashes; and that it will go again to that same ashes: wherefore, then, a step of arrogance should never visit the priest. Yellow.

IS *ed* doforne in ngormm intan fegus fair, *cura* scara a me*n*ma *fri* diumus 7 dualchib in tsægail, 7 co tarda a agad *fri* nem i n-úmla 7 i n-ísle *fri* Dia Ath*air* fil isna nemdaib.

This is what the Blue denotes, when he looks at it: that he sever his mind from pride and the vices of the world, and turn his face to heaven, in humbleness and lowliness, to God the Father, who is in the heavens. Blue.

IS *ed* doforne in ngel int*an* *fegus fair*, *cura* immde*r*gth*ar* imme ar felo 7 náire me*n*ip genmnaid taitnemach a cride 7 a me*n*ma am*al* uan tuinde, *no* am*al* chailc *for* bendchobar daurthige, *no* am*al* dath gesi fri gréin ce[n] nach n-ernail [p. 108 b.] pecaid do bicc *no* mor do airisium ina cride.

This is what the White denotes, when he looks at it: that he should blush for shame and modesty unless his heart be chaste and shining, and his mind like the foam of the wave, or like chalk on the pointed roof of an oratory, or like the hue of a swan against the sun,[1] without any kind of sin, small or great, abiding in his heart. White.

IS *ed* doforne in n-uaine in*tan* fegus fair, *cura* lina mif*r*ige moir 7 torsi nde*r*mair a cride 7 a me*n*ma ar a tuicthe*r* trit .i. a adnocul i *c*rich a sægail fo úir talm*an*, ar is uaine is bun*ad* datha da cech thal*main*. is aire samailte*r* a dath in cochaill n-oif*r*ind *fri* huaine.

This is what the Green denotes, when he looks at it: that his heart and his mind be filled with great faintness and exceeding sorrow:[2] for what is understood by it is his burial at the end of life under mould of earth; for green is the original colour of every earth, and therefore the colour of the robe of Offering is likened unto green. Green.

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[1] Compare Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 1846, vol. II., p. 72, note 1.

[2] This must be the meaning, though *lina* is active, and *mifrige* and *torsi* are accusatives.

Brown.	IS *ed* do*forne* in dond intan *fegus fair* .i. co tardai dia óid scarad a chuirp 7 a anmma *fri* araile, 7 corup si a adbai iar n-écaib a adnocul i n-uir tal*man* co forcend in bethai 7 iff*rend* dia churp 7 dia anmain iar *for*bu bratha *men*ip iresach a gním i*fus* isin tsægul.	This is what the Brown denotes: when he looks at it, to wit, that he take heed of the separation of his body and his soul from each other, and that after death his dwelling is his grave in mould of earth until the world's end, and hell unto his body and his soul after completion of the Judgment, unless his work here in the world be faithful.
Red.	IS *ed* do*forne* in d*er*g intan *fegus fair cura* scendi 7 *cura* c*r*ithnaige a chride im-medon a chléib t*r*ia omun 7 ecla M*eic* Dé. Ar ba d*er*g cneda 7 crechta M*eic* Dé isin croich iarna chesad do Iud*ad*aib amirsech*aib*.	This is what the Red denotes: when he looks at it, that his heart should start and tremble amidst his breast through dread and fear of God's Son. For red were the wounds and scars of God's Son on the Cross when crucified by unbelieving Jews.
Black.	IS *ed* do*forne* in dub intan *fegus fair* .i. *cura* chiea cos*er*b 7 cugoirt ara peccaib 7 dúalchib ar omun to*cht* i n-dáil Diab*uil*, do bithaittreb phéine cen crich.	This is what the Black denotes: when he looks at it, to wit, that he weep bitterly and keenly because of his sins and vices, for dread of going to meet the Devil, to dwell for ever in pain without end.
Purple.	IS *ed* do*forne* in corcair[1] in*tan fégus fair* in saca*rt* .i. co tarda dia óid Ísu fil in nim *co n*-immud a glóire 7 a miadamla 7 *co* ix ng*r*adaib nime ic mol*ad* in Duilemun t*r*ia bithu sír.	This is what the Purple denotes, when the priest looks at it: that he take heed that Jesus is in heaven with the plentitude of His glory and His honour, and with nine ranks of heaven praising the Creator for ever and ever.
	Iss ed is techta don tsacart indsin, co tarda a m*en*main tar dualchib in tsægail co haireraib 7 co háibnesaib suthinib	*This is meet for the priest* then, that he put his mind over the vices of the world unto the eternal delights and

[1] *Corcair* is, of course, borrowed from porpora (*purpura*), which is said, in the Turin fragment on S. Mark's Gospel (*Goidelica*, 12), to be made from weed which is on the crags. The Devil appears to S. Molling in a purple robe, Book of Leinster, p. 284ᵃ 49.

fil*et* hin nim *icon* Ath*air* nemdai.

pleasures that are in heaven with the heavenly Father.

Oc*us* is iat sin na hocht cemendai dof*ornet* na hocht ndatha sin in cochuill oifrind iar figuir 7 rúin in Ath*ar* nemdai.

And those are the eight steps which those eight colours of the robe of Offering denote according to the figure and mystery of the heavenly Father.

IS e *tra* in cochall oifrind in choer cómraic i filet .uiii. ndatha examlai b*r*ises 7 sráines ilchatha f*or* aslach nDiab*uil* 7 f*or* dualch*aib* in tsægail, 7 tormaigi*us* 7 métaigi*us* na sualchi 7 na sogníma.

This, then, is the robe of offering; the focus wherein there are eight different colours which often rout and overthrow in battle the temptations of the Devil and the vices of the world, and which increase and magnify the virtues and good deeds.

Ní techta *immorro* do neoch *aile* in sróll ara thaitnemche 7 ara uaisle do thab*airt* ina étgud *no* nac*h* ina erriud cenmotha in sac*art* a oenur intan teit do edpart chuirp C*rist* 7 a fola f*or*sin altoír nóim, ar is cochull srolldai dligi*us* imme intan sin.

Because of its lustre and its nobleness, no one, therefore, is permitted to insert the satin in his clothing or in his raiment, save only the priest when he goes to offer Christ's Body and His Blood upon the holy altar; for it is a robe of satin that he ought to wear at that time.

Oc*us* in sacart *immorro* dian*us*-táidle *no* dian*us*-glacca do bic *no* mor bannscál hi ngne adalt*r*ais ní techta dó Corp Cr*ist* do glacad *no* do thadall cen anart sroill et*ar*ru, 7 *co* nd*er*nai ait*r*ige ndícra f*r*i re .xu. bl*iadan* ina peccaib 7 ina thairmthecht*us*.

Now if the priest approach or handle, little or much, a woman in the way of adultery, he is not allowed to handle or approach Christ's Body without a sheet of satin between them; and he must do fervent penance, during fifteen years, for his sin and his transgression.

The Pastoral Staff:—

The pastoral staff or crozier (*bachall* from *bacilla*) is often mentioned. Thus, we have *Bachall Ísu*, given by Christ to Patrick[1] The crozier.

[1] In p. 420 it is said to have been found by Patrick at Arles.

(pp. 30, 446), and which the saint employed to lay low the idol. Cenn Cruaich (p. 90), to slay a druid (p. 454), and to mark out the raith at Armagh (pp. 236, 474), and for which Tassach made a case (p. 424). We have also the expression *crann cromchenn* (crook-headed staff) applied by the wizards to 'crosier,' p. 34. Hence it appears to have had a crook or volute. The story told at pp. 89, 468 shows that it also had a point (*airmtiud*) capable of piercing the foot. As to the meaning of the baculus pastoralis see the six hexameters cited in the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. clxxxvi.

Incense:—

Incense (*ind ingchis*, gl. incensum, Ml. 141c 2) seems referred to by Tírechán, p. 306, l. 12, where he speaks of the *fumum benedictum* ascending into the eyes and nostrils of the heathen. But perhaps the smoke there mentioned is that coming from the paschal fire and the 'ceriales lucernae.'

Offerings:—

Offerings of women's ornaments at the altar are referred to by Patrick, infra, p. 371, l. 36. The offering of a caldron is recorded in p. 230; the offering of chariot-horses is referred to, p. 244. We also find recorded offerings, oblations, or *immolationes* of immovable property to God and certain saints (pp. 66, 336), or solely to Ciarán (p. 88) or Patrick, pp. 72, 80, 110 (where the land is given for the sake of the soul of the donor's father), 228, 230, 340 (where it is offered *in sempiternum*). The grazing of a certain number of cattle is given to Assicus *in edbairt suthain* 'as a permanent offering.' p. 96. In one case the record of offering is accompanied by a statement that the king made it free (*liberavit*) to God and Patrick, whence it would seem the land was charged with certain payments to the king. This subject may be left with the remark that according to Patrick it is the duty of the king, *pauperes elemosinis alere*, p. 507, and that the alms of an excommunicated cleric are not to be received, p. 508.

Celebrating the canonical hours:—

It would seem from Patrick's rule (p. 484) that the day and the night were each divided into four *tratha* or watches (*frithairi*), and that he celebrated the *tratha* in due order. Their names, with two exceptions (*espartain*, *anteirt*, p. 124, l. 7), do not occur in the documents now printed. They are as follows:—

1. *teirt*, gen. *terte*, 'terce.'
2. *medónlai, etruth, etrud, seist* 'sext.'
3. *nóin*, gen. *nóna*, 'nonas.'
4. *fescor, espartain*, 'vespers.'
5. *coimpléit* (= completa), 'compline.'
6. *medónaidche* (μεσονυκτικόν), *iarmerge*, 'nocturn.'
7. *tiugnair*, *matain*, 'matins,' 'lauds.'
8. *prím*, 'prime.'

Anteirt (p. 124) seems a loan from the Welsh *anterth*, 'the space of time between nine and noon' (Silvan Evans). Whether it is a contraction of *anter-terth* = Ir. *etartrath* (*o etartrath co hetrud*, L. B., 219, c. 34) has not yet been settled.

The grounds of observance of the eight hours are set forth, in prose and verse, in the Lebar Brecc, p. 247.

The Sign of the Cross:—

Frequent mention is made of this sign (Tropaeum Crucis, *airde na cruche, sigen na croche*), the *signum salutare*, as Adamnán calls it. Patrick is said to have crossed himself a hundred times every day and every night (pp. 124, 486), and Muirchu (p. 293) raises this number to a hundred times every hour of the twenty-four. Patrick uses it to heal a wound, p. 12; to wither the hands of quarrelling brothers (p. 110); to paralyse a foe (p. 450); to open a giant's tomb (p. 324). It is used over a child's mouth in order to cure (by proxy) his sick father, p. 76; it is cut miraculously in hard stone (p. 78, and see p. 136). Whenever on his journeys Patrick saw a cross he alighted from his chariot and prayed by it (p. 293). A cruciform well is mentioned in p. 8.

Relics:—

Relics (*taisi, martrai, reilci*) are often mentioned. Palladius is said to have left behind him relics of Paul and Peter, p. 30; and relics of the same apostles are mentioned in pp. 86, 396. Ancient relics (*martra sruithe*), which Patrick had brought with him over sea from the east, are mentioned in pp. 180, 194, 354, 509, and in p. 238 (cf. p. 474). Patrick is said to have stolen as much of the relics of the apostles (*taissi inna n-apstal*) as he wanted, while the inhabitants of Rome were asleep. As to such pious thefts and *praedones sancti*, see M. Le Blant's memoir, *le Vol des reliques*.[1] Making friendship to Rodan's relics is mentioned in p. 314

[1] *Revue Critique*, 15 Nov. 1886, p. 388. See also Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. Relics, p. 1773, col. 2.

in an obscure passage. The adoration of Fiacc's relics is mentioned in p. 283, l. 17: the *taissi* and *reilci* (relics and remains) of Patrick himself at p. 170. Bishop Columban's voyage to Bophin Island *cum reliquiis sanctorum* is recorded, p. 318. Relics were kept in a *tiag* = theca, θήκη, p. 556, or *scrín* (scrinium), p. 192. *Velum quod custodiuit reliquias* is mentioned in p. 329. The relics (*taissi*) of Sen-Patraic (said to have been our saint's tutor) were deposited in a tomb (*ulad*) in Armagh (p. 505).[1]

The rite of watching (*aire*) at night before relics, which is recognised in the early pontificals, is mentioned in pp. 238, 240.

Prayer for the dead :—

The Irish word for this seems to have been *ecnairc*. Adamnán, p. 113[b], calls this prayer consueta deprecatio. See Reeves, *Columba*, p. 211, n.

The ideas of the Irish on this subject are expressed in many ancient lapidary inscriptions, and in the following extract from the Lebar Brecc, p. 11[a], l. 19.

Niconfil ní dosgní duine tarcend anma indi atbaill nat cobair do, et*ir* figill 7 apstanait 7 gabail n-ecnairce 7 bend*achtu* menci. Filii pro mortuis parentibus debent penitere. Blia*dain* lán di*diu* do Móedoc Ferna *cona* m*uin*tir uile for usce 7 bairgin iar tuaslucud anma B*r*anduib m*eic* Ech*ach* o ifiurn.

There is nothing which one does on behalf of the soul of him who has died that doth not help it, both prayer on knees, and abstinence, and singing requiems, and frequent blessings. Sons are bound to do penance for their deceased parents. A full year, now, was Maedóc of Ferns, with his whole community, on water and bread, after loosing from hell the soul of Brandub son of Echaid.

Holy Water :—

Usce ernaigthe, 'aqua sancta,' is mentioned in the story of Patrick blessing water, which then, sprinkled over the dead bodies of Dáre and his horses, brings them back to life (pp. 228, 291).

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[1] Another word for relic, *mind*, is applied to the crozier of Patrick's preserved by Muinis, p. 82, and see p. 86, l. 5.

Genuflexion :—

Genuflexions or prostrations (flectenae, *slechtana*) are often mentioned as religious acts, see pp. 312, l. 32; 440, l. 14; 484, l. 10.

Observing Sunday :—

Patrick seems to have paid much respect to this day. His resting on Sunday (*domnach*) is recorded in pp. 146, l. 2; 192, l. 23; and by Muirchu in p. 394; and he is twice said to have tried to prevent the heathen from digging *raths* on that day (pp. 192, 222, 271, 289). A 'rule of Sunday' (*cáin domnaig*), in nowise to transgress upon it, is mentioned in p. 504.

In Hí, and doubtless in Irish monasteries, on Sundays some addition was made to the diet (sanctus . . . praecipit . . . aliquam quasi in Dominico, prandioli adiectionem fieri[1]).

Ascetic practices :—

No western Christians were so distinguished for their ascetic practices as the Irish.[2] Thus we read of Finnchu sleeping with corpses, and suspending himself on sickles inserted in his armpits: of Ultan keeping a stone in his mouth during the whole of Lent: of Íte allowing her side to be eaten away by a stag-beetle: of Ciarán mixing his bread with sand. And the following practices are referred to in the documents now published.

Fasting :—

Fasting (*óine* = ieiunium) is frequently mentioned in the documents printed in this work, and there is a short homily on the practice in the Lebar Brecc, p. 258. Every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year (except in the interval between Easter and Whitsunday) was a fast-day,[3] and this has given rise to the Irish names for Wednesday, Thursday and Friday: *cétáin* or *dia cét-áene*, *dardoen* (= *eter dí-óeni*), and *dia oine didine*, Ml. 113[c] 1, 113[d] 3. Patrick's habitual fasting is referred to in pp. 260, 262; and his fasting in the wilderness of Slemish (p. 440); his fasting in the isles of the Tyrrhene sea (p. 406, l. 1); the fast for three days and nights by which he dispelled the mists which the wizards had brought over Mag Ai; and, last of all, the fast for forty days on Cruachan Aigli, 'after

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[1] Adamnán, p. 113[a] of the Schaffhausen codex.

[2] See Reeves, *Columba*, p. 335, n. b.

[3] Reeves, *Columba*, 348.

the manner of Moses, Elijah, and Christ' (pp. 174, 332, 474, 500), are specially commemorated.

Abstinence from fresh meat in Lent is referred to in p. 333, l. 6.

2. Retiring for a time to a cave:—

Three Patricks are mentioned, infra, p. 27, as *in quodam solitario specu inter montem et mare*, and in p. 242 Fiacc is said to have been used to go from Shrove Saturday to Easter Saturday to Druim Coblai, where he had a cave (*uaim*). Here we have instances of the custom of retiring for a time to a cave, which, says Bishop Forbes, was very common among the British and Scottish saints.[1]

3. Standing in cold water:—

Another favourite austerity was standing in a well or tub of cold water. Patrick is said, both in Fiacc's hymn, v. 15, and in the Lebar Brecc homily, p. 484, to have practised this custom. Its object is indicated in the story of Scothíne, told by the scholiast on the Calendar of Oengus, at Jan. 2. It was also practised by Finnchua of Brí-gobann (Book of Lismore, fo. 28 a 1). And see many other instances referred to by Bishop Reeves, *Columba*, p. 219 n.

4. Keeping lepers:—

The leper (*clam* or *trosc*) makes a great figure in Irish hagiology, both as a subject for miraculous cures (see pp. 258, 409, 500), or transits (p. 447), and as an object of humiliating tendance. Thus Patrick commends to his disciple Mochtae twelve lepers, and Mochtae every night takes them a ration (p. 228). The burial of Comlach, a leper specially attached to Patrick (*clam Patraic*) is mentioned in p. 84, and see p. 556. S. Brigit also kept a leper named Lommán (*clam Brigte*, L. B., 64 a). Possibly, however, the devotion bestowed on lepers by these saints was due to the belief current in the middle ages that Christ Himself was a leper.[2]

Wearing sackcloth is not mentioned in the documents now printed. *In chilic* (from *cilicium*) glosses 'lugentes habitus,' Ml. 94c 12. And in the Liber Hymnorum,[3] *hi-cilicc* is glossed by *hi pennait*, and cilicium is explained as the name of a garment made of the hairs of goats or camels.

For instances of prayer as an ascetic exercise, see supra p. xix. and infra pp. 389, 408, 494.

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[1] *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 285, 345.

[2] See Farrar's *Life of Christ*, 12th ed., p. 149, n. 3: Burton's *Arabian Nights*, v. 294.

[3] Goidelica, p. 135.

The Liturgical Tract :—

The tract on the origin of certain liturgies, of which the relevant portions are printed, infra, pp. 502, 503, has been noticed, supra, p. cxix, but must now be further considered. It is the earliest document bearing on the subject. After speaking of the introduction of the Roman liturgy into Gaul by SS. Trophimus and Photinus, the author states that S. John the Evangelist was the first who chanted the Gallican liturgy (*primum cursum Gallorum decantavit*), then S. Polycarp, and, thirdly, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons. He then says (or seems to say) that the liturgy was modified and added to; that in its new form it was used by Jerome, Germanus, and Lupus; and that this is what was called, at the date of composing the tract, the Cursus Scottorum. The writer then refers to S. Mark, and declares that Jerome affirms that this Cursus Scottorum was chanted by that evangelist, and afterwards, at different times, by Gregory Nazianzen, by Cassian, by Honoratus of Lerins, and by Cesarius of Arles, where Lupus and Germanus were monks. These two, he says, taught Patrick sacred letters, and had him made archbishop in the Scotiae and in the Britanniae (*in Scotiis et Britanniis*). There he chanted the same liturgy (*ipsum cursum ibidem decantavit*).

Ritual :—

Beyond giving the words for certain books, the documents now printed throw no further light on the details of this subject.

We have a *soiscéla* (a gospel) given by Patrick to Mochae (p. 40). This was probably a Latin copy of the portions of the four Gospels which were used in the Mass. It was called in Latin *Evangelium*, *Evangelistarium*, *Evangeliarium*, and in English *gospelar*. The common expression *la tercbáil in tsoscéli* seems to embody the Irish word.

a *lebar uird ocus baptismi* which Patrick left with deacon Iustus is mentioned p. 104: a *lebor ortosa* p. 40, l. 6, and *libri babtismatis* p. 318, l. 13:

Lastly, we have libri legis, aeuanguelii libri (p. 300): which have been explained as meaning copies of the Old and New Testaments.[1] But consider the seven *libri legis*, which Patrick gave Mune (p. 326). These can hardly have been seven copies of the Old Testament.

[1] Olden, p. 41.

Having thus described the codices from which the text of the Tripartite Life has been taken: having endeavoured to fix approximately by historical and grammatical arguments the date at which it was compiled: having noticed the other documents printed in this work, and described at some length the Book of Armagh and the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*, from which the most important of those documents are taken: having tried to set forth with their aid some parts of the personal history of S. Patrick; and having, lastly, indicated the instances in which the contents of this work throw some scattered lights on the social condition of the early Irish, and on their religious tenets and practices, I have now, in conclusion, to express my gratitude to eight scholars, of whom seven, happily, are still alive.

First, to Father John Colgan, with whose Latin paraphrase of the Tripartite Life I compared every sentence of my translation;

Secondly, to Mr. W. M. Hennessy, with whose English version of the Tripartite Life, so far as it extends,[1] I collated mine, and from whom I never differed without much reluctance and diffidence;

Thirdly, to Dr. Reeves, bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, who read a proof of pp. 317–321, 348–353, and made corrections and suggestions of great value;

Fourthly, to Count Nigra, who, in the midst of his diplomatic duties, found time to compare a proof of pp. 402–426 with the transcript which he had made at Rome of the corresponding part of the Franciscan *Liber Hymnorum*;

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[1] It omits pp. 2, ll. 6–29; pp. 4, 6, 8, ll. 1–3; in p. 14, ll. 6, 7, the words *an nochelfanad*; p. 64, ll. 7–30; p. 65, ll. 1–13; p. 72, ll. 1–5, ll. 17–31; pp. 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, ll. 1–27, 88, ll. 27–29 (*ar aroi . . . thocad*), p. 106, ll. 15–22; p. 114, ll. 26–30; p. 116, ll. 1–4; p. 118, ll. 14–6 (*gebthar . . . digdider*); p. 130, l. 10 (*Ferghas . . . aithin*); p. 140, ll. 10–26; p. 142, ll. 13, 14; p. 152, ll. 4, 5 (*acht . . . geill*); p. 158, ll. 24–28; p. 160, ll. 1–11; p. 172, ll. 7–32; p. 174, ll. 1–4; p. 184, ll. 7–10; p. 186, ll. 10–19; p. 190, l. 3; p. 202, l. 4; p. 246, ll. 3–23.

Fifthly, to Mr. S. H. O'Grady, whose keen and practised eyes helped me to decipher the dim photograph, from which, owing to the unexpected refusal of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, to deposit the MS. (H. 3. 18) in the British Museum for a few days, I had to print pp. xlvii–lvii of this Introduction;

Sixthly, to the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J., who, though suffering from a painful ocular ailment, examined for me, in the original MS., some parts of the Liber Angueli, infra, pp. 352–356, as to my readings of which I was doubtful;

Seventhly, to Professor Windisch, of Leipzig, who encouraged me throughout the progress of this long and laborious work, and to whom I am indebted for the explanations of the supposed prefix *for* (supra, p. lxxi), and of *maiti*, infra, p. 694.

Eighthly, to the Rev. Thomas Olden, who read a proof of the latter half of this Introduction, and to whom I owe the explanation (p. clxxiv) of *nauis unius pellis*.

Also to the late Master of the Rolls (Sir George Jessel), to the late Sir William Hardy, and to the present Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (Mr. Maxwell Lyte) my thanks are due, for various acts of kindness in connexion with this book.

WHITLEY STOKES.

BETHU PHÁTRAIC.

THE TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK.

u 10231. Wt. 18120. A

BETHU PHÁTRAIC ANDSO.[1]

[PARS PRIMA.]

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5, a. 1.

POPULUS qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam[2] .i. inpopal deissid indorchaib at*con*dairc soillsi mooir. Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis, lux orta est eis .i. oc*us* inlucht robatar hiferand oc*us* hifoscudh báis fóúarat*ar* soillsi díatanic asoillsigud.

IN Spirut Nóemh, in Sp*ir*ut isuaisli cach spirut .i. in Sp*ir*ut dorinfith ind Ecl*ais* cechtardai innafetarl*icc*e oc*us* indnufíadnaissi órath ecna oc*us* fáitsine, isé in Spirut sin roráide innabriathrasa t*ri*agin indfátha Issaias m*aic* Amois.[3] De cuius laude Hieronymus dicit .i. dia moladside atb*eir* Cirine noem inníso, Quod non tam dicendus est profeta quam euangelista .i. *con*id córa suiscelaighthi darádh f*ris* *indás*[4] fáith, araṡoillsi oc*us* araimchuibhdhe roindis scéla Cr*ist*. Ita enim uniuersa Christi ecclesia[e]que misteria ad l[uc]idum prosecutus est ut non eum[5] putes de futúro uaticinari, sed de præterito historiam dicere.[6] Arroboi día ṡoillsi roindis huile rúine Cr*ist* oc*us* na hEcalsi noime *con*aba dóig lanech comb*ad* taircetal rét todochaide doneth *acht* ais*neis* rét remthechtach iarnaforpthigud.

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[1] Beatha Pádraicc annso, R., in a modern hand.

[2] Isaiah ix. 2. These are the only words now legible on the first page of the Egerton copy.

[3] Amoin, R.

[4] R. has the usual contraction for the Latin *quam*.

[5] eam, R.

[6] dexere, R.

LIFE OF PATRICK HERE.

The First Part.

Populus qui sedebat[1] *in tenebris vidit lucem magnam,* that is, the people that sat in darkness beheld a great light. *Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis,*[2] *lux orta est eis.* And they that dwelt in the land and in the shadow of death found a light whence came their illumination.

The Holy Spirit, the Spirit that is nobler than any spirit, to wit, the Spirit that inspired the Church, both of the Old Law and of the New Testament, with the grace of wisdom and prophecy, it is that Spirit which spake these words through the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, son of Amos. *De cujus laude Hieronymus dicit,* that is, to praise him saith Saint Jerome this: *Quod non tam dicendus est propheta quam evangelista,* to wit, that it is meeter to call him an evangelist than a prophet, because of the clearness and the fitness wherewith he told tidings of Christ. *Ita enim universa Christi Ecclesiaeque mysteria ad lucidum prosecutus est ut non eum putes de futuro vaticinari, sed de praeterito historiam dicere.* For with such clearness did he set forth all the mysteries of Christ and the holy Church that every one deemed that he made, not a prophecy of things future, but a relation of things foregone after they had been fulfilled.

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[1] ambulabat, Vulg.

[2] habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, Vulg.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5, a. 1, 2.

Óen, di*no*, día taircetlaib failsi anadfíadar hisund *tria* aisneis sechmoda[ch]tai .i. Populus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam. In pop*ul* desid indorcataid at*con*daire soillsi móir. Is hé, im*morro*, leth ataebi ind aisnéissi lasin fáith codú inerb*airt* remi Primo tempore alleu[i]ata est [5. a. 2] terra Zabalon et terra Neptalim,[1] *con*id forslicht nambriatharsin roraid in fáid "Populus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam." In popal desid indorch*ataid* at*con*naire soillsi móir. Iuxta historiam, populus Israel captus ab Assiris, in tenebris captiuitatis sedens, uidit lucem magnam, id est radios redemptionis, Hestram, Nehemiam, Iosue et Zorobabel et cæteros duces populum ex captiuitate ducentes. Mad iarstáir cip ind*us* pop*ul* Israel sin robai andorcataid *na* daire Asardai at*con*daire soillsi *m*óir ictichtain asindóirisin immarǣn re Hest*ras* *ocus* Nemias *ocus* Zorbobél, *ocus* immaróen ré táisech*u* m*ac* ṅIsr*ae*l arch*ena* tancat*ar* asindóire Asardai.

Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis lux orta est eis. In lucht robatar hiferand *ocus* hi foscad báis fuar[atar] soillsi móir dia tanic ánin[ṡ]orchug*ud*. "Sedentibus," id est stabiles quia erant [stabiles] et immobiles in malo. Is he in suide itberar doib .i. ambith cobsaid nemcumscaighthi inhulc. "In regione," id est in campo Sendár ubi est Babilonia. In ferand, im*morro*, an apar am bith, mag Sennár sin, *ocus* is and ata in Babiloin. "In umbra mortis," id est in peccato et in templis idolorum. In foscad bais, *immorro*, an apar am bith, pecad *ocus* tempul ídal *ocus* arracht.

Iuxta uero spiritualem intelligentiam, populus gentium, qui sedebat in tenebris ignorantiæ et peccati. Mad iar sians, im*morro*, isé [5. b. 1] itberar hisund .i. pop*ul* na ngente robái andorcataid pecaid *ocus*

[1] Isaiah ix. 1.

One, then, of his clear predictions which is herein set forth through a declaration of the past (is), to wit, *Populus qui sedebat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam*, the people that sat in darkness beheld a great light. Now, this is one of the two contexts of this declaration of the prophet's, as far as the place in which he had said *Primo tempore alleviata est terra Zabulon et terra Neptalim*, and after those words said the prophet, *Populus qui sedebat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam*, the people that sat in darkness have seen a great light. *Juxta historiam, populus Israel captus ab Assyriis, in tenebris captivitatis sedens, vidit lucem magnam, id est radios redemptionis, Hestram, Nehemiam, Josue et Zorobabel et caeteros duces populum ex captivitate ducentes.* According to history, however, that people of Israel which dwelt in the darkness of the Assyrian captivity beheld a great light (as they were) going out of that captivity along with Esdras and Nehemiah and Zorobabel, and along with other leaders of the children of Israel, who came out of the Assyrian captivity.

Et sedentibus in regione et umbra mortis lux orta est eis. They that were dwelling in the land and in the shadow of death found a great light from whence came their illumination. *Sedentibus, id est stabiles, quia erant stabiles et immobiles in malo.* This is the sitting that is said of them, namely, their being firm (and) immovable in evil. *In regione, id est in Campo Sennar ubi est Babylonia.* Now, the land in which it is said they were dwelling was the plain of Sennar, and therein stands Babylon. *In umbra mortis, id est, in peccato et in templis idolorum.* But the shadow of death in which it is said they were dwelling (was) sin and the temples of idols and images.

Juxta vero spiritualem intelligentiam, populus gentium qui sedebat in tenebris ignorantiae et peccati. Howbeit, according to the spiritual meaning this is what is said herein: to wit, the people (are the people) of the

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5, b. 1, 2.

aneolais anallana. Et in regione, id est, in uoluntate humana unicui[us]que dilicias cordis sui proferente. In ferand, im*morro*, hirabat*ar*, oirfitiud na toile doenai insin. Et in umbra mortis, id est, in peccato. In foscad irrab*us* ann, dorcata [peccai]d insin. Uidit lucem magnam .i. atco*n*nairc soillsi móir i.e. lucem Christi et apostolorum euangelium prædicantium. Intsoillsi atco*n*cat*ar* .i. soillsi Cr*ist* *ocus* nanapstal ic p*re*cept soscela insin. Ipse de se dixit, "Ego sum lux[1] "mundi: qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris."[2] Et de apostolis [dixit:] "Vos estis [lux mundi."[3] Et Christus ergo uera lux est qui illuminat omnem] hominem uenientem in hunc mundum: apostoli uero lux illuminata a Christo. Christus est lux sine initio: apostoli vero lux cum initio. Is sodeithb*ir* ciatbe*r*mais comad fri Día atbe*r*ta soillsi indsút. Ar itb*eir* Eóin co*n*idhé ind fírsoillsi hé t*r*iasa rosoillsiged intuile doman. Nox enim erat in mundo usque dum Christus, qui est sol iustitiæ, radios suos aspersit in mundum, id est, apostolos et sanctos su[c]cessores eorum. Uair robai dorcata mor *ocus* temel dar cridhibh nangente cén 'co roscail gríañ na fírinne, i.e. Isu Crist, a ruithin tré airdib in domain dia in[ś]orchug*ud* t*r*iána apst*al*aib *ocus* t*r*iána nǽmaib *ocus* fírenaibh *ocus* triana fothoscaghthib noemdaib olcheanai.

Oen, di*no*, dona ruithnib *ocus* dona lassraib rofáid g*r*ian na fírinde isin dom*un* .i. Isu Crist—ind ruithen *ocus* ind lasar *ocus* ind lia logmar *ocus* ind lochr[5. b. 2]and lainderda in[ś]orch*aig* iarthar an betha .i. sanctus Patricius episcopus .i. noemPat*raic* airdes*co*p iarthair domain *ocus* ath*air* baitsi *ocus* creitme f*or* [leg. fer] nEr*enn*. Is and at[f]íadar ní día gen*cluch* coll*aide*,

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[1] R. inserts "ih.c" (Iesus).
[2] John viii. 12.
[3] Matth. v. 14.

heathen which had formerly dwelt in the darkness of sin and ignorance. *Et in regione, id est, in voluntate humana, unicujusque delicias cordis sui proferente.* Now, the land wherein they dwelt, that is the delighting of the human desire. *Et in umbra mortis, id est, in peccato.* The shadow wherein they abode, that is the darkness of sin. *Vidit lucem magnam,* that is, it beheld a great light; to wit, *lucem Christi et apostolorum evangelium praedicantium.* The light which they beheld, that is the light of Christ and the apostles preaching the gospel. *Ipse de se dixit:* "I am the light of the world. He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness." *Et de apostolis dixit:* "Ye are the light of the world." And Christ, accordingly, is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into this world: but the apostles are the light lighted by Christ. Christ is light without beginning: but the apostles are light with beginning. This is reasonable though we should say that God was called Light, for John saith that He is the true light through the which the whole world was enlightened.[1] *Nox enim erat in mundo usque dum Christus, qui est sol justitiae, radios suos aspersit in mundum, id est, apostolos et sanctos successores eorum.* For there lay great darkness and gloom over the hearts of the heathen until the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, scattered his radiance through the quarters of the globe to enlighten it through his apostles and through his saints and just men, and also through their holy successors.

One, then, of the rays and of the flames which the Sun of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, sent into the world —the ray and the flame and the precious stone and the brilliant lamp which lighted the west of the world (is), to wit, *Sanctus Patricius Episcopus,* that is, holy Patrick, high bishop of the west of the earth and father of the baptism and belief of the men of Ireland. Somewhat of the carnal genealogy, of the miracles and marvels of

[1] John i. 9.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 5, b. 2.

dia fertaib *ocus* dia mírbailib indí noemPat*raic* ind ccailsibh na Cr*ist*aide isedecim K*al*. Apr*eil* arái laithe mís gréine.

Patraic, di*no*, do Bretnaib Ail-Cluade a bunud*us*. Calpurnd ainm a ath*ar*, huasalsacart[1] he. Fótid ainm a senath*ar*, deochan atacomnaic. *Con*cess ainm a math*ar*: di Frangcaibh dí, *ocus* síur do Mártan hí. HinNemth*ur*,[2] im*morro*, rogenair intí noebPat*raic*. Occ*us* ind lec for*s*[a] rogenair intí Pat*raic*, cech oen dogní luga ṅeithig foithi dofuisim h*us*ce am*al* bid oc cained ingúfo*r*gaill. Mád fír, im*morro*, a luga, tairisid in cloch in a haicned chóir.

Ó rogenair iar*om* intí noemPat*raic* iss*ed* rucad c*us*in m*ac* ndall claireinech dia baitsiud. Gorniass ainm intsacairt, *ocus* nochoraibi h*us*q*ue* ocai asandénad an baitsidh, co tarat airrdhe na cruiche di láim inna náiden tarsin talmain co rommid [*sic*] topar h*us*q*ue* ass. Lauit (.i. Gornias) faciem et roeroslaicti a roisc dó, *ocus* ro erlég in mbathais intí ná rofoglaind lit*ri* ríam. Doróne Dia firt trédai a[r] Pat*raic* isin maighin-sin .i. in topur h*us*q*ue* asin talm*ain*, *ocus* a roisc don m*ac* dall, *ocus* airlegend dó uird na baisti cen aithgne a litri cósin. *Ocus* robaitsid intí Pat*raic* iarsin. Rofothaiged, im*morro*, eclais forsintopar-sin in robaits*ed* Pat*raic*, *ocus* is and atá in topar *ocon* altóir, *ocus* techt[aid] fuath na cruiche am*al* atfiadat ind éolaigh.[3]

Nutritus est ergo hi Nemthur ille puer, crescens in bonis operibus et in uirtutibus quas egit Deus per illum. Nam[6. a. 1]-que [a] pueritia gratia Dei præditus erat,

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[1] See Ducange, s.v. *Archipresbyter*.

[2] Hindemthur, R.

[3] *In margin:* de fonte signato crucis figura.

this holy Patrick is set forth in the churches of the Christians on the sixteenth of the calends of April as regards the day of the solar month.

As to Patrick, then, of the Britons of Ail-Clúade (Dumbarton) was his origin. Calpurn was his father's name, an archpriest was he. Fotid (Potitus) was his grandfather's name: a deacon was he. Concess was the name of his mother: of the Franks was she, and she was a kinswoman of Martin's. In Nemthor, however, this holy Patrick was born;[1] and the flagstone whereon he was born, when any one commits perjury under it, pours forth water as if it were bewailing the false testimony. But if his oath be true the stone remains in its proper nature.

Now, when the holy Patrick was born, he was taken to the blind flat-faced son to be baptized. Gornias was the priest's name, and there was no water by him wherewith he could perform the baptism. So with the infant's hand he made the sign of the cross over the earth, and a well of water brake thereout. Gornias washed his face (with that water), and his eyes were opened, and he read the (order of) baptism; he who had never learned letters. God wrought for Patrick a triple miracle in that place, namely, the well of water out of the earth, and his eyes to the blind son, and his reading of the order of baptism without knowing his letters until then. And Patrick was baptized thereafter. A church, moreover, was founded over that well in which Patrick was baptized, and there stands the well by the altar, and it hath the form of the cross, as the wise declare.

So in Nemthor that boy was reared.[2] And he grew in good works and in the miracles which God wrought by him. For from his childhood he had been endued with

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[1] Here Colgan (*Trias Thaum.* p. 117) inserts, presumably from one of his MSS., an account of a miracle wrought by Patrick while he was still unborn.

[2] By his mother's sister, according to Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 118.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6, a. 1, 2.

antequam inter bonum et malum no[u]isset discernere et uiam ueri[ta]tis po[tui]sset indagare, sicut ipse in Libro Epistolarum dicit, inquiens: "et misertus est adolescintie et ignorantie meae.[1] Et custodivit me antequam scirem eum[2] et antequam distinguerem[3] inter bonum et malum; et muniuit me et consolatus est me [sic]ut pater filium."

Mór di fertaib *ocus* di mirbailib doróne [Dia] tré Pat*raic* inna gillacht; *acht* aisnefimit uáiti do ilib díb.

Fecht and bái Pat*raic* i. toig a muime. Dorala indaimsir geimrid, collínad tola *ocus* lia h*usque* less a muime co rabat*ar* les*tra* *ocus* fointreb in tighe f*or* snám *ocus* combáided in tenid. Pa*traic*, im*morro*, rochí f*or* a muime am*al* is bés[4] do naidenaib ic tothlug*ud* bíth. Is andsin roráide a muime f*ri*ss: "Nísé snim fil fo*rn*. Bái ní bud toisigu dún andás biath do dénam duit, lasse ní béu cid in teni." Pat*raic*, im*morro*, an[n]ocluined[5] inna bria*thra* so, torothlaig[6] alaili locc ná ranic int *usque* isin tig, *ocus* rothuim a láim isind*usque*, *ocus* doreprendset cóic bainne a méraib Pát*raic*; *ocus* doronai cóic oibli dib focétóir, [*ocus*] rolass in teine *ocus* ni roard*raig* int*uscue*. Romóradh ainm Dé[7] *ocus* Pat*raic* don firt-sin.[8]

Fecht aile do Pat*raic* iccluichiu it*ir* a comaestu .i. a comaltu, indaimsir gemrith *ocus* uachta int[śa]indriuth, cotorinol lán a utlaig do bisib ega co tuc leis dia thig co a muime. Is and sin roráide a muime f*ri*ssom: "Robad ferr dún brossna crínaig do tab*air*t diárngorad f*ri*s andas atucais." At*ru*bairt-som iarsin f*ri* a muime: "Creitsiu uáir is sochmachtu do Día corolassat cid [6. a. 2] na bissi am*al* c*r*ínach." *Ocus* is deniu-rad, am[b]dar suidigthi na bissi ega forsan teinith *ocus* andorat a

[1] meea, R.
[2] eam, R.
[3] disdinguerem, R.
[4] Here (the copy in Egerton, 93), begins to be legible.
[5] andochluined, E.
[6] dorothlaig, E.
[7] ndé, E.
[8] desein, E.

God's grace, even before he knew how to discern between good and evil and was able to trace out the path of truth. As he himself declares in the Book of Epistles, saying: "And He had pity on my youth and ignorance, and He took care of me before I knew Him and before I could distinguish between good and evil. And He strengthened me and comforted me, as a father does his son."

Many miracles and marvels did God perform through Patrick in his boyhood; but we will declare (only) a few of many of them.

Once upon a time Patrick was biding in his fostermother's house. The winter-time came, so that a spate and flood of water filled his fostermother's dwelling, and the vessels and gear of the house were a-swim, and the fire was quenched. Patrick, however, cried to his fostermother, as is the wont of babes when asking food. Then said his fostermother to him, "This is not what distresses us: there is something that we would do rather than make food for thee, when not even the fire is alive." Howbeit Patrick, when he heard these words, sought a certain place in the house into which the water had not come, and he dipt his hand into the water, and five drops flowed from Patrick's fingers, and thereof he straightway made five sparks, and the fire blazed up and the water appeared not. God's name and Patrick's were magnified by that miracle.

At another time, as Patrick was playing among his fosterbrothers in the season of winter and cold especially, he gathered his lapful of icicles and carried them home to his fostermother. Then said his fostermother to him: "To bring a faggot of firewood, that we might warm ourselves thereat, were better for us than what thou hast brought." Then he said to his fostermother: "Believe that it is competent to God that even the icicles should flame like firewood;" and quicker than speech, when the icicles were set on the fire and when he

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6, a. 2. anail fói, rolasaiset fócetoir am*al* crínach. Romórad ainm Dé[1] *ocus* Pat*raic* t*r*iasin firt sin.

Fecht do Pat*raic ocus* dia fíair (.i. Lupati[2]) oc ingaire cairech co tancat*ar* ind úain cohoband[3] doc*um* a mathrech, amal isbes dóib, do ól lomma. Ótco*n*dairc[4] Pat*raic ocus* a fiur innísin, roreithset codian dia terbaud. Dorochair indingen *ocus* roben a cend f*r*i cloich corbo comfoc*us* bás di. An doadchuired, *immorro*, Pat*raic*, atco*n*nairc a fiair commo comfoc*us* bás di inna ligu, *ocus* rodogalsigestar[5] cohadbal, *ocus* co*n*uargaib fochetoir in fíair, *ocus* dorat airde na cruche tarsincrecht, *ocus* roslanaig ce*n* náchgalar. Araidi noardraigtis foillechta in gelcrechta and. *Ocus* tancat*ar* iarsin immalle dia tig mar na[6] comairsed olc friu.

Fecht aile do Pat*raic* ocna cáirib co ruc in cú all*aid* cairig huad. Rochairigestar a muimme comór ind. Dobert in cú in cairig slán arabarach c*us*in maighin-sin cetna, *ocus* ba hingnad aisec asind inut[7]-sin .i. adétaib in *con* ali*ta* imonmbiad ṅgnáthach. O'tco*n*nairc, di*no*, in muime [Pátraic[8]] cof*or*br*ad* rath Dé ann .i. hi fertaib *ocus* hi mirbuilib, nocharad sí hé comor *ocus* noco*n*occobhrad sí *con*digseth nách leth cen héisium immaróen fríe.

Fecht and luid a muime do blegon nabó. Luid-sium, da*no*, lea do ól dighe lemn*achta*. Dástaight*er*, tra, immon ṁboin [isin mbuaile[8]] coromarb cóic bú aile (.i. demon dochuaid inti). Boi toirrsi mór f*or* a muime-sium,[9] co*n*erbairt f*r*is tódiusc*ud* na mbó.[10] Dodíussaig-som, da*no*, na bú comdar slána [6. b. 1] *ocus* ícais inndáss*acht*aigh. Romórad, da*no*, ainm Dé *ocus* Pátraic trít sin.

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[1] ndé, E.

[2] lupait, E.

[3] cohopunn, E.

[4] Atco*n*nairc, R.; Otcó*n*dairc, E.

[5] rotogáilsigestar, E.

[6] nach, E.

[7] in*u*d, E.

[8] Sic, E.

[9] .i. do malairt nabo das*ach*tai[ge] *ocus* na .u. mbó *aile*, E.

[10] .i. intan bói i[c]cuingi[d] loma, E.

breathed under it, they flamed forthwith like firewood. God's name and Patrick's were magnified by that miracle.

Once as Patrick and his sister Lupait were herding sheep, the lambs came suddenly to their mothers, as is their wont, to drink milk. When Patrick and his sister beheld that, they ran quickly to separate them. The girl fell and struck her head against a stone, so that death was nigh unto her. Now, when Patrick returned, he beheld his sister, that death was nigh unto her as she lay down; and he grieved exceedingly, and he raised the sister up at once, and made the sign of the cross over the wound, and healed her without any illness. Nevertheless, the traces of the scar were apparent there. And then they came home together as if no evil had befallen them.

At another time, as Patrick was with the sheep, the wolf carried off a sheep from him. His fostermother blamed him greatly therefor. On the morrow the wolf brought the sheep whole to that same stead; and strange was restitution out of that place, to wit, out of the wolf's teeth, as regards the usual food.[1] So when the fostermother of Patrick saw that God's grace was growing in him, namely in miracles and marvels, she loved him greatly, and she liked not to go in any direction without (having) him along with her.

Once upon a time his fostermother went to milk the cow. He also went with her to drink a draught of new milk. Then the cow goes mad in the byre and killed five other kine: a demon, namely, entered her. There was great sadness on his fostermother,[2] and she told him[3] to bring the kine back to life. Then he brought the kine to life, so that they were whole, and he cured the mad one. So God's name and Patrick's were magnified thereby.

[1] Here Colgan (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 118) inserts the story of the resuscitation of the dead child, given infra in the homily from the *Lebar Brece*.

[2] from the destruction of the mad cow and of the five other kine.

[3] when he was asking for milk.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6b b. 1.

Bái, da*no*, dál mór la Bretnu. Luids*om* la muime *ocus* la aiti isindail.[1] Dorala *con*derbailt a aiti isin dail. Rosoc[ht]sat na huile de hein. Rochíset a chomnestai *ocus* rochain a c[h]ommam [leg. chommaim ?], *ocus* issed roraide; "A gille, ced ararcilcis in fer robái cotimorchor do écaib?" In gilla, *immorro*, an nochetfanad, roreith coa aiti *ocus* dorat a lama immabragait, *ocus* adrupairt[2] fris: "Eirig *ocus* tiagam diar toig." Atráracht focetóir la breithir Pat*raic* *ocus* docuat*ar* imslán íarsin díatig.

Dobeirtis meic an[3] poirt in roalt P*átraic* mil dia mait[h]rib asna miltenaib. Is and [sin] adrub*airt* a muime f*ri* Pat*raic*, "Cia dobera cech m*ac* [aile][4] mil dia muime, ni thabraidsi damsa." Roucc iarsin Pat*raic* lestar laiss docum ind *usque*, *ocus* rolín *ocus* rošén ind *usque* corošóad immil,[5] *ocus* roíc cech ngalar *ocus* cech nancess forsa tardad .i. roboi do cretraib léo.

Fecht ṅand dochuaid rechtairi in rig (.i. Bretan) do fuacra *for* Pat*raic* *ocus* for a muime *con*digsitiss do glanad thell*aig* ind rightighi Ailchluaide. Dochuaid Pat*raic* *ocus* a muime. Is andsin tainic intangg*el* co Pat*raic*, *ocus* ised roraidi ris: "Dena ernaigthi *ocus* ni ba héicen duit ind opar sin." Orauit Patricius. Roglan iarsin intangel a tellach. Is and sin ad*ru*-b*airt* Pat*raic*, "Ce noloisect*er* a fuil do conduth im-Bretn*aib* isin tenlachsa,[6] nóconbia[7] luaithne de iarnabarach." *Ocus* ised on comaillt*er* beoss.

Fecht naili luith rechtairi ind rig (.i. Bretan) do chuinchid císsa grotha *ocus* imbi[8] co muime Pát*raic*, *ocus* ni bai leissi ní doratad isin ciss. Isand sin dorigni Pat*raic* in g*ruth* *ocus* innim dontsnechta, co

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[1] don dáil, E.

[2] atrub*airt*, E.

[3] in, E.

[4] Sic E.

[5] corood amil, R.; corošóad im-mil, E.

[6] tellachsa, E.

[7] nochombía, E.

[8] imme, E.

Now, the Britons had a great folkmote. He went to the folkmote with his fostermother and his fosterfather. It came to pass that his fosterfather died in the folkmote. All became silent at that. His kinsmen wept and his wife wailed, and she said: "My boy, why hast thou left unto death the man who was carrying thee?" The boy, however, when he perceived him, ran to his fosterfather, and put his arms round his neck, and said to him: "Arise and let us go home." He arose at once at Patrick's word, and they then went quite whole to their house.

The children of the place in which Patrick was reared used to bring to their mothers honey out of the combs. Then said his fostermother to Patrick: "Though every other child brings honey to his fostermother, you bring none to me." Then Patrick took a vessel to the water, and filled it, and blessed the water, so that it was turned into honey, and it healed every disease and every ailment to which it was applied, that is, they held it a relic.

Once the reeve of the King (that is, of the Britons) went to announce to Patrick and his fostermother that they should go to cleanse the hearth of the palace of Ail-Cluaide. Patrick and his fostermother went. Then came the angel to Patrick, and thus he said to him: "Make prayer, and that work will not be necessary for thee." Patrick prayed. Thereafter the angel cleansed the hearth. Then said Patrick: "Though all there is of firewood in Britain be burnt in this hearth, thereof will be no ashes on the morrow." And this is still fulfilled.

At another time, the reeve of the King (that is, of the Britons) came to Patrick's fostermother to seek tribute of curd and butter, and nought had she that was put into the tribute. Then of the snow Patrick made the curd and the butter, and this was taken to the King.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 6, b. 2.

rucad [6. b. 2] don rig. Uair rotaiselbath iarom don rig rosoad inna aicned tsnech[t]a dorit[h]issi. Romaith iar*om* inri in císs do Pat*raic* dog*ré*ss.

Is *hé*, im*morro*, tuirthed tuidechta Pa*traic* hi tossaig doc[h]um nÉr*enn*. Battar .uii. meicc Fechtmaidi for longais .i. .uii. meicc ríg Bretan, *con*deochatar d'orcain inArmaire Letha. Dorala d*rem* do Br*et*naib Sratha Cluaidi for fecht doc*um* ambráth*ar* .i. co Bre*tnu* Armuire Letha, *ocus* roorte[1] isind orgain[2] Calpuirnd m*ac* Potiti ath*air* Pat*raic* *ocus* a máth*air* .i. Concess ingen Ocbaiss do Gallaib. Gaibt*er*, do*no*, Pa*traic* isind orgain[sin] *ocus* a di fíair .i. Lupait *ocus* Tig*riss*.[3] Lotar f*or* muir iar*om* .uii. m*eic* Fechtmaidi *ocus* Pat*raic* *ocus* a dí fieir leu immbraitt. Iss*ed* dolot*ar* timchell nhEr*enn* fotuaith coggabsat isin tuaiscert, *ocus* dosrensat[4] Pat*raic* f*ri* Miliuc m*ac* Buain .i. f*ri* ríg Dal-Araidi, *ocus* rorensat a di fieir hi *Con*ailli Muir*theimne*, *ocus* nimafit*ir* doib. Cethrar, im*morro*, rocendaigseom. Óin dibside Miliuc: is dó sein arróetsom in[n]ainm is Cot*raigi*[5] iarsindí foruigenai do cet[h]art*reib*. Rotec*ht*, da*no*, ceithir[6] anmand[7] fair .i. Sucait a ainm o t*us*tidib. Cothraigi diambai ic fog*nam* do cethr*ur*. Magoni*us* a Germano. Patricius, id est pater ciuium, a papa Celestino. Ot*con*naire, im*morro*, Miliuc gurbo mog hiressiuch rocendaig on t*r*iur aili co fognad dó a oenar, *ocus* foruigénairsom .uíí. mblia*dna* fo bés na nEbraidi. Occ*us* iss*ed* roherbath dó, ingairi mucc, *ocus* ba comroreu (*sic*) dontí ronortaig saml*aid*, uair bá córu abith combad æ*ga*iri cairech .i. na m*ac* mbet*had*. Is*ed* dorala dó iartain corúndai .i. comba hægairi na hEcailsi. *Ocus* rocess mór nimned in dithrub sle[be Miss].

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[1] rohóirethe, E.
[2] E. inserts : sin indArmuirce.
[3] Lupit 7 Tigris, E.
[4] rorensat, E.
[5] as Cothraige, E.
[6] Read ceitbri?
[7] Here a leaf has been cut out of E.

So when it had been shown to the King it was turned again into its nature of snow. Then the King remitted the tribute to Patrick continually.

Now, this is the cause of Patrick's coming at first to Ireland. There were in exile seven sons of Fechtmaide, to wit, seven sons of the King of Britain, and they went to ravage in Armorica. It came to pass that some Britons of Strath Clyde were on a journey to their brethren, that is, to the Britons of Armorica; and in the ravaging were slain Calpurn, son of Potitus, Patrick's father, and his mother Concess, daughter of Ocbass of Gaul. Patrick, then, is taken in the ravaging, and his two sisters, namely, Lupait and Tigris. Fechtmaide's seven sons then put to sea, and Patrick and his two sisters (were) with them in captivity. They went round Ireland northwards, and they landed in the north and sold Patrick to Miliuc son of Buan, to the King of Dalaradia. And they sold his two sisters in Conaille Muirthemne, and he and his sisters knew nothing of each other.[1] Now, it was four persons that bought him; one of them was Miliuc: it is thence that he got the name "Cothraige," because he served four households. Now, he had four names upon him: "Sucat," his name from his parents; "Cothraige," when he was serving the four; "Magonius" from Saint Germanus; "Patricius," that is, *pater civium*, from pope Caelestine. Now, when Miliuc saw that he was a faithful servant, he bought him from the other three that he might serve him alone, and he, Patrick, served seven years after the manner of the Hebrews. And he was entrusted with the herding of swine, and it was a mistake of him who ordained thus, for it was meeter that Patrick should be a shepherd of sheep, that is, of the sons of Life. This happened to him afterwards mystically, namely, that he was the shepherd of the Church. And he suffered many tribulations in the wilderness of Slemish.

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[1] Lit. "of them nothing was mutually known" (*imma-fitir*).

[Here in both MSS. occurs a lacuna which may be thus filled up from Colgan's translation, *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 119–122.]

Trias Thaum., p. 119, c. 18.

Inseruiuit autem ei fideliter *Patricius* vsque ad septimum seruitutis annum[1] inchoatum; quo more Hebraeorum serui manumitti et libertate redonari solebant. Applicatus autem a domino fuit porcorum gregi pascendo et custodiendo, qui sub ejus cura fœcundis fœtibus mirum in modum excreuit. Nec grex magis fœtibus et numero, quam subulcus virtutibus et meritis interea creuit, de quibus luculentum veridico ipsiusmet ore prolatum, extat testimonium; vt constat *ex libro Epistolarum ipsius*, vbi ait: *Quotidie pecora pascebam, et frequens in die orabam magis ac magis: ac crescebat amor Dei in me, et timor ipsius et fides, et spiritus augebatur; vt in die vna vsque ad centum orationes, et in nocte similiter; vbi etiam in syluis et in monte manebam, et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem, per niuem, per gelu, per pluuiam, fundebam: nec sic ulla pigritia erat in me. Sed modò video, quod tum Spiritus in me feruebat.* Quem autem in se feruere dicit, dubiò procul fuit septiformis gratiae Spiritus, qui eum in aduersitatibus consolabatur, et ad illa ardua cœlestium virtutum exercitia et sublimia opera, quae posteà exercuit, inuitabat et exercitabat, vt ipse alibi indicat, dicens; *Audiebam quosdam psallentes in me; et nesciebam qui essent.*

Et inter alia innumera beneficia cælitus in eum ab infantia collata, non postrema censenda est illa indulgentissima Domini dignatio, qua eum dignatus est visitare et refouere quotidianis apparitionibus et familiaribus colloquijs angeli Victoris; qui eum in aduersis consolari, et in agendis dirigere et instruere modumque orandi et jejunandi docere, et præscribere

[1] aunum, Colg. Other such misprints I have corrected silently.

solebat. Iuxta autem montem *Mis* in Vltonia solebat angelus eum tempore seruitutis frequentare; vbi ejus in specie auis apparentis, vestigia saxo impressa, magna populi deuotione et veneratione visuntur, et frequentantur. Trias Thaum., p. 120, c. 19.

Habuit S. Patricij dominus *Milcho* tres liberos, filium vnum et duas filias; qui ob summam sancti adolescentis morum suauitatem, Deique gratiam in omnibus actionibus eius relucentem, omnibus humanitatis officijs, intimoque amoris affectu eum prosequebantur, ejusque colloquijs et aspectu mirifice delectati, eum sæpius visebant, necessariam ad corporis refectionem continuo adferentes: erga quos et Patricius reciproco referebatur affectu, spiritualis alimoniæ mercedem pro temporali reponens. Eos enim in principijs fidei Christianæ instruebat, et quæ docentis angeli magisterio didicerat, in eorum mox aures, et animos suauiter instillabat. Hæc dum clanculum agitarentur, Milcho in somnijs visionem vidit mirabilem. Vidit enim Patricium quasi domum ejus ingredientem, flammamque de ejus ore, naribus, auribus et oculis egredientem, eumque totum quasi versum in ignem, minitantem et contendentem se concremare, similique incendio exurere. Visus tamen est ipse sibi flammas illas a se repellere, ita quod in nullo eum laederent; sed dextrorsum reflecterent ejusque filium duasque filias in vno lecto jacentes comburerent, et in cineres prorsus redigerent: quos cineres ventus validus eleuare, et per Hiberniæ regiones ventilare videbatur. Hac territus visione *Milcho* Patricium accersitum rogat, vt si valeat, visionis interpretationem velit sibi enodare. Enarrata igitur ex ordine tota visione, Patricius Spiritu sancto illustratus ad *Milchonem* ait; Ignis quem vidisti ex me exeuntem, est sanctissimæ Trinitatis fides, qua ego totus incendor et illustror, cujus postea prædicatione conabor illustratum et accensum reddere. Sed mea prædicatio non faciet in te fructum; nam obstinata

Trias Thaum., p. 120, c. 20.

mente celestis gratiæ lumen a te repelles, et in tenebris infidelitatis morieris; filius vero tuus et duæ filiæ prædicatam fidei veritatem amplectentur, ignisque Spiritus sancti eos accendens omne vitium et peccatum ab eis profligabit; et postquam in sanctitate et justitia omnibus diebus vitæ Domino inseruient, et sancto fine requiescent, ipsorum cineres et reliquiæ per Hiberniam deferentur, plurimosque curabunt[1] morbos et infirmitates. Filius autem hic *Milchonis* est Episcopus *Guasactus*, qui est hodie *Granardiæ*[2] in regione Carbriæ: duæ vero filiæ sunt duæ *Emeriæ* quæ jacent in *Cluanbronaigh*.

Appropinquabat et tunc tempus redemptionis viri Dei a sua seruitute. Gentilis enim ille populus solebat seruos septimo seruitutis anno manumissos, libertate donare nisi ipsi sponte velint amplius servare. *Milcho* autem omnem excogitabat modum, quo Patricium in suo retineret seruitio. In hunc autem finem statuit ei, etsi nolenti, sponsam conjungere: quam et curauit in eodem cum eo loco de nocte concludi. Sanctus Patricius puellæ fidem prædicauit Christi, eximiumque Christianorum virtutum, præsertim castitatis, orationis et deuotionis fructum et decorem. Vnde reliquam noctem, continua in oratione insomnes duxerunt. Illucescente autem die cum videret Patricius in fronte puellæ quandam cicatricem acceptique antea vulneris vestigium, ab ea petijt cicatricis causam et originem. Illa respondit; Ego, cum paruula existens puella, essem in Nemthor patrio oppido in Britannia, allisi graviter caput ad saxum, quo casu læthale vulnus accepi; sed frater meus, *Suchat* nomine, tunc assistens, signo crucis signauit frontem meam, et mox vulnus curatum, et ego sanitati restituta sum. Patricius autem arridens, ait; Ego sum frater tuus, qui et te curaui; et diuinæ clementiæ

[1] curabant, Colg.

[2] *Grauardiæ*, Colg.

bonitate factum est, quod jam conuenerimus post tantam quam passi sumus separationem et seruitutem. Tunc autem diuinam extollentes misericordiam, mox ad eremum et solitudinem se contulerunt. Trias Thaum., p. 120, c. 21.

Patricio in solitudine agenti apparuit angelus Victor; qui jubens, vt in Italiam ad discendas scripturas, se conferat, dixit; propera, ecce nauis tua parata est. Sed non erat prope; sed vt ipse in libro Epistolarum ait; *Forte habebat ducenta millia passuum, vbi nunquam notum fuerat iter.* Cui respondit Patricius: Non existimo dominum, cui inseruio, mihi recedendi facturum facultatem. Experire, inquit angelus, an sit licentiam concessurus. Patricius autem angelicis acquieuit monitis. *Milcho* vero petenti licentiam recusauit, nisi auri pondus ejus capiti, justa lance commensuratum, prius rependat. Cui sanctus adolescens respondit; Potens est Deus meus præstare, quod postulas. Et mox se denuo contulit in eremum: vbi apparuit ei angelus sub specie auis in loco qui *Schirec Archaile*[1] nuncupatur, in quo et impressa saxo visuntur in hunc vsque diem, ejus vestigia: cui et *Milchonis* responsum retulit. Angelus autem ei præcepit, vt sequenti die ad certi cujusdam de grege porci vestigia attendat, admonens quod in fossura terræ ab eo euiscerandæ, reperturus sit quandam auri massam qua a manu crudelis domini redimatur. Patricius monitis angeli acquiescens, in designata fossura reperit auri pondus non modicum; quod cum auaro obtulisset domino, optata donatus libertate, liber quo vellet abire permissus est.

Emancipatus igitur Patricius, lætus iter arripuit, quo angelica admonitione tendere jussus erat. *Milcho* vero non ad fidem vel honestatem, sed ad vtilitatem præcipue respiciens, mox doluit se seruum tam vtilem,

[1] Hodie hic locus *Schire Padruic* appellatur; estque juxta montem *Mis* in septemtrionali parte Vltoniae, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 171.

Trias Thaum., p. 120, c. 23.

tamque necessarium, dimisisse. Vnde pactum præuaricans, curat recedentem[1] e vestigio insequi, domumque inuitum reduci. Sed Dei nutu factum est, vt quod perperam conciperat, opere exercere non potuerit. Patricius enim ad notam eremi solitudinem declinans, ab insequentibus reperiri non potuit. Accessit etiam ad doloris ipsius argumentum, et augmentum, nefarii delicti justissima punitio. Nam aurum quod in libertatis pretium, perperam exegerat, paulo post concessam libertatem nusquam comparauit.

Patricius, autem, seruitutis timore alas addente, cursum currens magnum, vnius diei spatio ab eo loco ad vsque Boandi fluminis ostia peruenit, vbi *Kienanum* quendam cognomento seniorem, conuenit: qui nefaria et iniqua conuentione vas electionis pro elixationis vasculo commutans, eum quibusdam mercatoribus pro æneo cacabo diuendidit. Sed miraculo subsequente proditum, et probatum fuit, quàm iniquum hoc extiterit commercium. Cum enim *Kienanus* cacabum domum referret, et ad parietem suspenderet, ipsius manus ita ei, quasi glutino adnexæ adhæserunt, vt eas nulla vi potuerit retrahere. Et cum vxor maritum juuare vellet, eiusque similiter adhærescerent digiti; totaque denique famil[i]a occurreret, vtrumque dominum iuuatura; omnium ita manus obriguerunt et cacabo cohæserunt, ut nulla vi diuelli possent; donec tandem perpetrati facinoris culpam agnoscentes, ad pœnitentiam fuerint conuersi, cacaboque restituto, Patricium libertate curauerint redonari.

Post hæc Patricius ad nautas, in Britanniam transmissuros reuersus, ab eis lætanter exceptus, et ad nauem iam soluentem admissus est. Navis Oceano commissa cœpit ingenti conquassari tempestate et immanens pati naufragium. Sed viro Dei ad Dominum suum, qui ventis et mari imperat, orante, mox ces-

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[1] recendentem, Colg.

sauit quassatio et tempestas: et ventis ad vota spirantibus in optato Britanniæ applicuerunt portu. Trias Thaum., p. 121, c. 25.

Egressi vero in aridam inuenerunt regionem ad ingentia terrarum spatia vacuam et desertam. Per eam autem vastam solitudinem spatio viginti quinque dierum ambulantes, victualibus deficientibus cœperunt fame haud mediocriter premi. Tunc eorum maior ad Sanctum Patricium ait: Ecce Christiane, nos fame confectos et morti vicinos, nisi mature ad alimonia prouideatur. Cum igitur Deus quem tu prædicas, potens sit et misericors, ora vt nostræ succurrat miseriæ, cibique aliqua refectione nos a præsenti liberet interitu. Tunc Christi seruus in Domini firmiter confisus clementia, ait: Vos credite pleno et firmo pectore Deo cæli, qui dat escam omni carni, cuncta esse possibilia; et ego promitto quod eius munificentia saturabimini. Patricio hæc et similia perorante, et mox ad Dominum feruenter orante, qui ad Moysis instantiam Israëli olim fame laboranti in deserto, pluit sicut puluerem carnes et manna de cælo; ita ad intercessionem fidelis serui sui, his fame in vasta solitudine pereuntibus gregem porcorum et copiam syluestris mellis cælitus misit: qua prouisione refecti mortis euaserunt periculum, et susceptum per vastam solitudinem peregerunt iter.

Homines autem barbari, et de sancti beneficio ingrati, partem porcorum a vero Deo donatorum, suis idolis immolarunt. Et hinc sanctus vir, nolens porcorum istorum degustare carnes, integro viginti dierum spatio jeiunauit; et diuinæ tandem gratiæ dono factum est, vt non minus primo quam postremo die fame laborauerit. Vnde gentiles illi hæc videntes cœperunt Dei in seruo suo Patricio praedicare et extollere virtutem.

Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis suis, quos nunc signis et prodigiis clarificat; nunc variis aduersitatibus et tentationibus sinit affligi; vt sciant totam suam virtu-

Trias Thaum., p. 121, c. 28.

tem et fortitudinem ex Deo esse. Vnde et permisit seruum suum dilectum signisque ad virtutibus jam clarificatum ab angelo Sathanae grauissime tentari. Dum enim somno vacaret, tentator in dormientem irruit eumque ingenti opprimentis saxi mole ita comminuit, et contriuit, vt omnium membrorum motu et officio funditus destitutum reliquerit. In his autem positus angustiis, quem ore inuocare non valuit, in spiritu semel ac iterum inuocauit Heliam prophetam sibi in adiutorium. Helias autem ei assistens, ipsum ab omni pressura et incursu inimici liberauit, et *restitutae sunt ei vires eius* in integrum. Toto tamen reliquae vitae tempore non potuit excutere memoriam istius terribilis casus; vt ipse dicit *in libro Epistolarum.*

Post tot aduersitates et aerumnas Sanctus Patricius reuersus est in suam patriam, in qua solum tribus mensibus mansit; cum ecce noua eum aduersitate probare placuit Domino. Alii enim praedatores Britones inuaserunt et deuastarunt eius patriam, ipsumque captiuum duxerunt. In ea iam tertia captiuitate solum duobus mansit mensibus, cum diuinae bonitati, oculo suae clementiae, placeret ejus aerumnas alternae consolationis leuamine visitare. Venit enim ad eum Victor angelus; qui eum de instanti liberatione consolatum et securum reddidit, viamque aperuit, qua ex seruitute egrediens ad suos redierit.[1]

Tunc Patricius reuersus est ad patriam et amicos; qui rogaverunt eum, vt apud eos de caetero remaneret, dicentes; multos labores, aduersitates et aerumnas hactenus passus es; iam requiesce, et apud nos commorare, et noli amplius de terra in terram peregrinari. Verum non acquieuit monitis eorum, propter

[1] redietit, Colg.

multas quibus continuo visitabatur, visiones. Quotiescumque enim somni quietem capere cupiebat, videbatur sibi ante oculos continuo prospicere Hibernorum insulam, ita quod perciperet sermonem et clamorem puerorum in sylua Fochladensi dicentium: *Veni sancte puer Patrici, et inter nos ambula.* Trias Thaum., p. 121, c. 30.

His et similibus visionibus motus, cum vir sanctus animaretur, et a Spiritu Sancto excitaretur ad conuersionem Hibernorum, annum iam aetatis attingens trigesimum, statuit prius Romam ad doctrinæ et fidei Christianae arcem et magistram proficisci, vt e fonte irrigua verae sapientiae et orthodoxae disciplinae hauriret fluenta, quibus arida gentilis populi irrigaret corda; neque enim decuit, neque licuit eum caelestis doctrinae se exhibere magistrum, nisi prius in praecipua eiusdem disciplinae schola egisset discipulum. Profectus est itaque vltra mare Iccium, donec venerit in Franciam, et vsque ad Alpes australemque plagam Italiae, ubi reperit Sanctum Germanum nobilissimum Europae ea aetate episcopum; et apud eum legit ecclesiasticos canones ad instar Pauli apostoli ante pedes Gamaliëlis, ibique Deo seruiuit in laboribus, jeiuniis, vitae castimonia, cordis contritione, ac Dei proximique dilectione.

Postea Sanctus Patricius profectus est Turones ad Sanctum Martinum, vt eum in monachum tonderet. Adusque enim illum diem non nisi more seruorum erat tonsus. Quando uero monasticam a Sancto Martino accepit tonsuram, omnes saeculi curas et voluptates abdicauit, seque totum orationi, et abstinentiae consecrauit; ita quod proposuerit nunquam vesci carnibus. Quadam tamen die grauiter tentatus non potuit se continere, donec carnes acceperit suillas, quas ne alij monachi eius ducerentur exemplo, sub dolio abscondidit. Postquam autem sic carnes reliquerit,

Trias Thaum., p. 121, c. 32.

obuiam ei factus est quidam oculos et in fronte et in occipite habens. Patricius autem eum penitius intuitus, eiusque conditionem valde admirans, ab eo percontatus est, quid tam monstruosa eius constitutio et habitus praetenderet. Cui ille; seruus Dei sum, ijsque oculis qui modo ordinario in fronte sunt, video actiones hominum ordinarias; oculisque in occipite positis video monachum carnes sub dolio occultantem, ne deprehendatur. Et his dictis continuo disparuit. Patricius autem cordis contritione compunctus, in terram corruit, et in orationem fusus tanquam magnus peccator delicti[1] veniam deprecatur. Tunc angelus Victor ei apparuit, dicens: Surge, confortare; quia Dominus transtulit peccatum tuum. Surgens igitur S. Patricius abjurauit de caetero esum carnium, ita vt toto reliquo vitae tempore carnes non gustauerit. Adhuc tamen humiliter deprecatus est Dominum, vt aliquo euidenti signo sibi demonstraret suum remissum esse reatum. Iussit igitur angelus vt carnes coram monachis in medium producat, et in aquam proijciat. Quod et Patricius fecit, ac carnes postea ex aqua extractæ, repertæ sunt in pisces conuersae. Hoc autem signum solebat postea sæpius Patricius referre coram discipulis, vt eos ad gulæ irritamenta superanda animaret.

Autissiodorum[2] nomen erat ciuitatis cuius S. Germanus erat superior et nobilis antistes: Aralanensis vocabatur insula, in qua S. Patricius apud eum erudiebatur. Triginta erat annorum quando venit ad S. Germanum; et alijs triginta litteris et disciplinis operam nauauit, et postea in Hibernia annis sexaginta praedicationi et populi instructioni operam dedit.

Quodam tempore dum esset S. Patricius in mari Tyrrheno, venit ad locum, in quo erant tres alij Pa-

[1] dilecti, Colg.

[2] Anthisiodorum, Colg.

tricij. Erant enim hi in quodam solitario specu inter montem et mare, et ab eis petijt licentiam cum eis commanendi. Responderunt se non velle hoc permittere nisi velit ex vicino fonte aquam haurire. Erat enim in illo loco quaedam bestia, quæ hominibus plurimum damni inferebat. Patricius autem annuens venit ad fontem, et bestia eo viso gestiens dabat quasi laetitiæ signa, seque ei mitem ac mansuetam praebebat. Post haec aquam hauriens domum cum benedictione retulit. Antea illi sancti viri tres medios panes cælitus missos, pro diurna annona accipiebant: tunc autem diuinæ bonitatis indulgentia *quartus* est continuo adiectus post aduentum Patricij. Et cum illis mansit annis septem; foedusque spiritualis amicitiæ et confraternitatis inter se contraxerunt.

Trias Thaum., p. 122, c. 34.

Egerton, 93. fo. 2. a. 1.

Intan, *tra*, robo lán a lx. blia*dan* do P*atraic*, *ocus* rofoglaind indecnai, dodech*aid* aaingiul fo*r*tach*tan* adochum inti Victor, arbo fo*r*tach*tid* dó díambói imoxaini do Mhil*iuc* *ocus* im cech ní archena atcobr*ad*. *Con*erbart f*ris*, "timarnad duitsi o Día te*cht* docum nÉir*enn* donertad irsi *ocus* cretme, conostuicce *tre* lín intsoscelai dochum púirt beth*ad*, uair dogairet inna huile Eren*naigh* atotchomnaicc[1]: is mithig *ocus* is apaig léo do rích*tain*." Celebr*ais* P*átraic* doGerman iarsin, *ocus* dob*ert* b*én*dach*tain* dó, *ocus* dodech*aid* senóir tairise[2] leis o German f*ria* imchomet *ocus* f*ria*thest*as*, Seget*ius* a ainm *ocus* sac*art* og*ra*[d], *ocus* [is] hé nobíth f*ri*úrdu na Ecailsi f*rí* laim Germain.

Luid Pat*raic* iar*om* fo*r*muir, nónb*ur* ilín.[2] Isann séin roláa inninsi, *con*aicci a tech núe *ocus* in lánamuin inóitid ann, *ocus* *co*naccai sentani c*ri*n indo*rus* intighi fo*r*alámaib. "Cid daas incaillech?" ól P*átraic*, "ismór a lobra." F*ri*srograt indoclach *ocus* iss*ed* roradi: "Óa damsa sin," ol indoclach. "Mad á máthair," olsé, "a clerig, inainginise atchethesu islobru sidi doridisi." "Cía c*ru*th aralad sin?" ol P*átraic*. "Ni *anse*," ol indóclach, "ataam súnn óams*ir* Cr*ist*, doaraill ar[n]dochum díambai it*ir* doinib hifos, *con*dernsam fleid dó. Be*n*[d]achais a[r] tegdais *ocus* ronbe*nd*ach fadeissin, *ocus* ni táraill in be*n*dachtusin ar clanna, *ocus* beimini cen áos, cen érchra sunn cobrath, *ocus* isfota órotairgered dún," ol indóclach, "do thuidechtsu, *ocus* faracaib Día linn *con*digesta do praicept[3] do Gaedel*aib*, *ocus* foráccaib comartha linni .i. abachoill do tab*airt* duitsiu." "Ní gébsa,"[4] ol Pát*raic*, "co tarda féin a bachoill dam."

[1] Something seems omitted here.
[2] MS. tair isé.
[2] Read alín.
[3] MS. praipcept.
[4] MS. gebsu.

Now, when Patrick had completed his sixtieth year and had learned the lore, unto him went his guardian angel Victor, for he had been Patrick's helper while he abode in bondage to Miliuc and concerning everything that he would desire. And he said to him: "Thou art commanded by God to go to Ireland, to strengthen faith and belief, and that thou mayst bring them (the Irish) by the net of the Gospel to the harbour of Life. For all the Irish cry that thou art (thus); they think thy coming timely and mature." Patrick then bade farewell to Germanus, and Germanus gave him a blessing; and a trustworthy old man went with him from Germanus, to guard him and testify for him. Segetius was his name, and a priest was he in rank, and at the ordinances of the Church he used to be at Germanus' hand.[1]

Then Patrick went to sea, nine (was) his number. And it is then that he came to the island, and he saw the new house and the married couple in youth therein, and he saw the withered old woman before the house on her hands. "What is it that the hag is?" saith Patrick: "great is her feebleness." The young man replied, and this he said: "She is a grand-daughter of mine," saith the young man. "If thou wert to see the mother of that girl, she is still feebler." "How came that to pass?" saith Patrick. "Not hard to say," saith the young man. "We are here since the time of Christ, who came unto us when he dwelt among men here, and we made a feast for him. He blessed our house and blessed ourselves, and that blessing came not upon our children, and we shall abide, without age, without decay, here until the Judgment. And it is long since thy coming was foretold unto us," saith the young man. "And God left with us that thou wouldst come to preach to the Gael, and he left a token with us, to wit, his staff, to be given to thee." "I will not take it," saith Patrick, "till He himself gives me his staff."

[1] "Suum in spiritualibus vicarium," Colgan, *Tr. Thaum*, p. 122.

Egerton, 93, fo. 2a. 1, 2a. 2.

Anais Pá*traic* *tri* láa *ocus* *tri* aidchi occo, *ocus* luid iarsein hisliab Hermóin, hifail na insi, coroárdraig dó inCoimdiu hi suidiu, *ocus* *con*erbairt f*ris* techt dop*ro*céupt do Góedilaib, *ocus* cotárat bach*aill* nIsu dó; *ocus* atrubairt ropad f*or*tachtaigthid do hi cech guas*acht* *ocus* hi cech écomnart imbíad. *Ocus* durothlaigestar Pát*raic* *tri* itgi fair, .i. bith dia deis hi flaith nime, combad é pa breithemh do Goi[d]el*aib*h hillathi bratha, *ocus* here in nónbuir choimthechtaigi di ór *ocus* argutt dia thab*air*t do Góid*elaib* ar creitem.

Isé, *immorro*[1] airchindech róbæ hi Roim isind aims*ir*sin, Célestin*us*, indara f*er* [2a. 2] xl. o Pet*ur*. Rofuidside indi Paladius, huasaldechon, dé feraib deac do praicept do Góidel*aibh*—ar is lá comurba Petair lesúgud na Eurupa—fó cosmaili*us* dúluid Barnaiph o Petur do p*ra*icept do Roman*chaib*h *ocus* rl. O doruacht Palladi*us* co *cr*ich Lagen .i. co Inb*er* Dea, f*ri*starrassair do Nathi m*ac* Garrchon *ocus* ronindarb. *Ocus* robaitsi (.i. Palladius) huaiti indu sin, *ocus* rofothaigh *tri* ecail*si*, Céll Fine, ifarcaib a lib*ru* *ocus* in chomrair co taisib Poil *ocus* Petair *ocus* inclar iscribad, et Tech na Róman, *ocus* Domnach Airte hifail Silvist*er* *ocus* Solonius.[2] Icintud dó íar*om* forculu dafarraid gal*ar* hi tírib C*ru*ithnech *con*derbalt de.[3]

Otchual*a* Pá*traic* anní sin, *ocus* rofitir rombo do roír Día apstulacht inna hÉirend, dochuaid íarsin coRoim do thabairt g*ra*d fair; *ocus* Celestin*us* abb Rómæ, isé róherleg gráda fairseom. Germa*nus* *ocus* Amatho rí Róma*nach* araird occo.

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[1] uéro, E.

[2] See Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 18, note 33.

[3] See Second Life, c. 24 (Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 13).

Patrick staid three days and three nights with them, and went thereafter to Mount Hermon in the neighbourhood of the island. And there the Lord appeared to him and told him to go and preach to the Gael, and gave him the staff of Jesus, and said that it would be a helper to him in every danger and in every unequal conflict in which he should be. And Patrick asked three boons of Him, namely, to be on His right hand in the kingdom of heaven, that he (Patrick) might be judge of the Gael on doomsday, and as much gold and silver as the nine companions could carry,[1] to be given to the Gael for believing.

Now, the chief who was in Rome at that time was Caelestinus, the forty-second[2] man from Peter. He sent Palladius, an archdeacon, with twelve men, to preach to the Gael—for it belongs to Peter's successor to benefit Europe—in like manner as Barnabas went from Peter to preach to the Romans, etc. When Palladius came to the territory of Leinster, namely, to Inver Dea, Nathi son of Garrchu opposed him and expelled him. And he, that is, Palladius, baptized a few in that place, and founded three churches, Cell Fine, in which he left his books, and the casket with relics of Paul and Peter, and the board on which he used to write, and the House of the Romans, and Domnach Airte, wherein are Sylvester and Solonius. As, then, he was returning, sickness seized him in the lands of the Picts, so that he died thereof.

When Patrick heard that, and knew that unto him God had granted the apostleship of Ireland, he went thereafter to Rome to have (ecclesiastical) orders given him; and Caelestinus, abbot of Rome, he it is that read orders over him, Germanus and Amatho, king of the Romans, being present with them.

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[1] Literally "the nine companions' load (*ére*) of gold and silver."

[2] Rectius, "forty-fifth;" the scribe misread the numeral .u. as .ii.

Egerton, 93, fo. 2a. 2, 2b. 1.

Isin láu *cét*na róoirdned Auxili*us ocus* Eisir[n]in*us ocus* alaili domuint*ir* Pát*raic*. *Ocus* isand, da*no*, dorat*ad* fairsom intainm isPat*ricius* .i. ainm cumachtai la Róman*chu* .i. fer fuaslaic*thea* gial. Isé seom, da*no*, for*ú*aslaicc gialnad *ocus* moxainc nanGóidel do Demon. *Ocus* intan rombóth icairlégunn inang*rá*d musf*rié*cartar nat*ri* classa .i. clas múint*iri* nime, *ocus* clas inna Róma*nach ocus* clas nam*ac* ó chaillid[1] Fóchlad. Ise*d* rochan huile: "Heuernenses omnes [rogamus te S. Patrici, ut venias et ambules inter nos, et liberes nos[2]"].

O thanic, t*ra*, Pát*raic* óRoim, ise*d* doroacht có Inb*er* Deæ i Laignib. Tanic, *immorro*, Nathi m*ac* Garrchon anaaig*id* seom. Romallach Pát*raic*. Sinell, *immorro*, m*ac* Findchada, isé toisech roc*r*eit Deo in hÉir*inn* t*ri*a p*rai*ccpt Pat*raic*. Isaire sin dorat Pát*raic* be*n*nachtain fair *ocus* forasil.[3]

In illis dieb*us* haec gesta sunt in prædictis ita. Isinnaims*ir*sin robói alaile rí fechoir gentlidi indhÉir*inn* .i. Loigaire m*ac* Néll, *ocus* isann roboi aṡosad *ocus* a greim rígda, í Temraig. Cóiced blia*dain* flatha Loigairi m*aic* Neill tanic Pat*raic* dochum nEir*enn*. Ochtmad blía*dain* fla*tha* Lughdach atbath .Uííí. mbl*iadna* fla*tha* Tethos[4] tanicc Pat*raic*, u. fer .xl. a Auguist .Uííí. annos Celestinus princeps eratt, ut Gelasi*us* dicit. In rí crodhasa, di*no*, .i. Loigaire m*ac* Neill, rotecht druidhe *ocus* tinchitlidi doairchaintis t*re*nand*ruid*e*cht* [2 b. 1] *ocus* t*ré*nangentle*cht* an nobíth archind dóib. Lochru *ocus* Lucat Mæl, ithé robtar airecha díib, *ocus* roptar auctair indana sin inna saebfáth*sine*. Dofairchechnatar[s]idi íar[u]m donicfed faith fo*r*bannach a tir *ocus* fo*r*cetal nanctarcnaid lista molach t*re*mdéa tar muir anall uathad dodmb*e*rad *ocus* sochaidi aridfeimfed *ocus* fogebad g*r*ad *ocus* ermitin la *fi*ru hErend *ocus* nólafedh na rígu *ocus* na fla*th*a asa rígu

[1] MS. óchaillib.

[2] For the words in brackets (taken from Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 123) the MS. has "et reliqua." Compare Acts xvi. 9.

[3] This paragraph comes in the MS. immediately before the paragraph beginning *Isin láu*, etc.

[4] tethon, E.

On the same day Auxilius was ordained, and Iserninus and others of Patrick's household. Then, too, was the name 'Patricius' given unto him, a name of power as the Romans think, to wit, one who looseth hostages. He, then, loosed the hostageship and slavery of the Gael to the Devil. And when the orders were a-reading out, the three choirs mutually responded, namely, the choir of the household of heaven, and the choir of the Romans, and the choir of the children from the wood of Fochlad. This is what all sang: 'All we Irish beseech thee, holy Patrick, to come and walk among us and to free us.'

Now, when Patrick came from Rome he went to Inver Dea in Leinster. Howbeit, Nathi son of Garrchu came against him. Patrick cursed him. Sinell, however, son of Findchad, is the first who believed in God in Ireland through Patrick's preaching. Wherefore Patrick bestowed a blessing upon him and upon his offspring.

In those days these things were done as aforesaid. At that time there was a certain fierce heathen king in Ireland, namely Loegaire son of Niall, and in Tara were his residence and his royal grip. In the fifth year of the reign of Loegaire son of Niall Patrick came to Ireland. In the eighth year of the reign of Lugaid he died. Patrick came in the eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, the forty-fifth from Augustus. Eight years was Caelestinus chief, as saith Gelasius. This cruel king, then, to wit, Loegaire son of Niall, had wizards and enchanters who used to foretell by their wizardry and heathenism what was before them. Lochru and Lucatmael, these were the chiefs of them, and they were the authors of that art of false prophecy. They foretold, then, that an evil-lawed prophet would come hither over sea to their land and teach . . . . . that a few would . . . him and a multitude would receive him, and that he would find love and reverence with the men of Ireland, and that he would cast the kings and the lords out

Egerton, 93, fo. 2 b. 1.

ocus nocho scerad na huili arrach*ta* nanídal, *ocus* nofeidligfed ambésena ticfed ann t*re* bithu betha isinnhEirind. Dí blia*dain* nó teora[1] bli*adn*a ré tichtu Pát*raic* dochum nÉir*enn*, ise*d* doairchantais;

Ticfa táilcend[2] tar muir meircenn;
a bratt tollcend, a chrand cromchend:[3]
a mías[4] inairthiur a tigi:
fr*i*s[g]erat a múint*er* huili,
'Amen, amen.'

Ticfat tailcind,[5] conutsat[6] ruama,
noifit cella, ceoltigi béndacha[7]
ben[n]chopuir ili: fla[i]th himbachla.

"Intan t*ra*," olséat, "ticfat inna airdesc *co*scerthar arnadradni *ocus* arngentlecht, *ocus* morfidir indires *ocus* in c*re*idem." Amal dorairng[r]ed, di*no*, *ocus* rofiugrad is amlaid f*or*coimnacuir *ocus* rócomallad.

O fororbái, da*no*, Pát*raic* a immram *ocus* rogab port along oc Inbiur Dea i c*rich* Laigen, tuc a lungo dochum thíri. Is andsin tanic incomairli occai techt dop*ra*iceupt doMiliuc. Cubaid leis, uair rofognai dó arthus día churp corofognad díaanmuin. Dorat, di*no*, c*ra*nd f*ri* tír, *ocus* luid o immrum soinmech sech ór nhÉir*enn* sair *con*gab inInb*iur* Domnand. Nífuair íasc ann. Dub*er*t mal*dachtain* fair.

Doluid do Inis Pát*raic*, *ocus* docóos uad do Inbiur Ainge. Ní f*r*ith ní dó ann. Dobert, da*no*, mal*dachtain* fair *ocus* ni toirthiget diblínaib.

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[1] The *e* has been inserted by a modern corrector.

[2] .i. Pat*raic*.

[3] .i. bachall Ísu ina láim.

[4] .i. a altoir.

[5] .i. baili Cuinn dixit.

[6] conuscat, E.

[7] .i. leo.

of their realm, and would destroy all the images of the idols, and that the usage which would come there would abide in Ireland for ever and ever. Two years or three years before Patrick's arrival, this is what they used to prophesy :—

Adzehead [1] will come over a furious (?) sea;
His mantle head-holed, his staff crook-headed,[2]
His dish [3] in the east of his house.
All his household shall answer
Amen, Amen!

Adzeheads will come,[4] who will build cities,
Who will consecrate (?) churches, pinnacled music-houses,
Many conical caps (for belfries), a realm round croziers.

"So," say they, "when these signs shall come our worship and our heathenism will be destroyed, and the faith and the belief will be magnified." As, then, it was prophesied and figured, so it came to pass and was fulfilled.

Now, when Patrick had completed his voyage and his vessel took harbour at Inver Dea in Leinster, he brought his vessels to land. Then he came to the decision to go and preach to Miliuc. This seemed fitting to him, since he had at first done service to Miliuc's body, that now he should do service to his soul. So he shewed (his) mast to land, and went prosperously voyaging eastward along the coast of Ireland till he anchored in Inver Domnann. He found no fish therein and inflicted a curse upon it.

He went to Patrick's Island and sent to Inver Ainge. Nothing was found for him there. So he inflicted a curse upon it (also), and both are barren.

[1] i.e. Patrick (so called from his tonsure).

[2] *i.e.*, Jesus' staff in his hand.

[3] *i.e.*, his altar (*rectius* paten).

[4] *i.e.*, Said "*Conn's Frenzy*," a prophetic rhapsody so called, of which there is a copy in Egerton, 88, fo. 12 b., where it is entitled Boile Cuinn 100 .k. (*i.e.*, Cétchathaig). The words above quoted do not occur in it.

Egerton 93, fo. 2 b. 1--2 b. 2.

Is annsin tanic Benen inamunt*er*as. *Con*tuil íar*om* Pát*raic* it*er* a muin[tir], *ocus* an fogebed in gilla di scothaib (.i. boladhmaraib)[1] dob*er*ed inulbroic in cleirich. Adubrutar múint*er* Pát*raic* f*ri* Benen: "Nadéna[2] sen," arséat, "ar na roduiscid Pát*raic*." Dixit Pátricius: "Heres regni méi erit."

Doluid do Inb*iur* Boindi: fófuair íasc ann. Dob*er*t[3] be*n*nachtain fair, *ocus* is toirthech intinber. Fuair d*ru*id isin inadsin, róecnaigestar diógi Maire. [2 b. 2] Senais Pátr*aic* in talm*ain ocus* sloccus in drúid.

Luid Pat*raic* íarsin óInis Pat*raic* sech Conaille *ocus* sech or nUlad, coro gaib ininbiur Brénnea. Luid íarsin co inb*er* Slan, corofoilgeset inchlerig a lungai isinbailiu sin, *ocus* lotar hi tír dochor ascísi *ocus* do chumsanad. *Con*id andsein fósfuair muccaid Díchon m*aic* Th[r]icim baile ita Saball Pát*raic* indiu. Orodecai na sruithi *ocus* na clérchiu doig leis roptar lát*roin no* meirrlig, *con*dech*aid*h *con*ecid dia tige*r*nai. Cotanic Díchu *con*greis achoin fónacléirchiu. Is ann sein rogabh Patr*aic* infers faith*ech*, "Né tradas bestis animas confitentes tibi,"[4] et canis obmutuit. O rodecai Díchu inní Pát*raic* rongab cong[an] chridi. Roc*r*eit *ocus* rombaitsestar Pátr*aic con*ide toisech rogab baithiss[5] *ocus* c*r*eidim inUltaib oP*átraic*. Is ann sein roédbairt Díchu do Pát*raic* inSaball. Pátricius dixit:

Bendacht Dé f*or* Díchuin.
  dorat damsa inSaball.
rombi esum darhéisi
  nemthech ngleisi nglanóll.
Bénd*acht* Dé f*or* Díchuin,
  Díchu colín cró,
ní baisfer nach búan bánn
  clann naciniud dó.

[1] MS. seems boloadh máraib.
[2] dadena, E.
[3] MS. andob*er*t.
[4] Ps. xxi. 21, or perhaps Ps. xxxiv. 17. In marg., meus.
[5] baithiis, E.

Then came Benén into his service, and Patrick slept among his household, and all the odorous flowers which the gillie (Benén) found he would put into the cleric's bosom. Patrick's household said to Benén: "Do not that," say they, "lest Patrick should awake." Said Patrick: "He will inherit my kingdom."[1]

He went to Inver Boinde. He found fish therein: he bestowed a blessing upon it, and the estuary is fruitful. He found a wizard in that place who mocked at Mary's virginity. Patrick sained the earth and it swallowed up the wizard.

Then went Patrick from Patrick's Island, past Conaille and past the coast of Ulster, till he anchored in Inver Brennea. Then he went to Inver Slan, and the clerics hid their vessel in that stead, and went on shore to put their weariness from them and to rest. And there the swineherd of Dichu son of Trichem found them, in the stead wherein to day stands Patrick's Barn. When he saw the sages and the clerics he thought they were robbers or thieves, so he went and told his master. Thereupon Dichu came and set his dog at the clerics. Then Patrick chanted the prophetic verse "*Ne tradas, Domine, bestiis animas confitentes tibi,*" and the dog became silent. When Dichu saw Patrick, grief of heart seized him, and he believed, and Patrick baptized him. So that he is the first who received in Ulster baptism and belief from Patrick. Then Dichu offered the Barn to Patrick. Patrick said:

God's blessing on Dichu,
Who gave me the Barn!
May he have afterwards
A heavenly home, bright, pure, great!
God's blessing on Dichu,
Dichu with a number of children.
No offspring or descendant of his
Shall die whose . . . is not lasting.

[1] "Hoc est, erit post me supremus Ecclesiae Hibernicae moderator," Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 124.

Egerton, 93, fo. 2 b. 2—3 a. 1.

Luid Pát*raic* do p*ra*icept do[1]Miliuc amal atrubui*r*[t], *ocus* ruc ór leis do erail *cre*itme fair, huair rofit*ir* ba sánt*ach* immór. O rocual*a*, *immorro*, Mil*iuc* Pát*raic* do tuidecht, nochorbail dó *cre*item dó *ocus* in fo*r*bann gentlidi inarabi dfacb*ail*. Mebul lais *cre*item dia mogaid *ocus* fomamugud do. Issi comuirli romúin Demon dosom. Luid ina rígthech *ocus* a ór *ocus* a argat lais, *co* tárat féin tene fair, *con*id loisc conógus a muini, *ocus con*dechoid a ainim dochum nIff*r*ind. Is ann sein tarr[a]sair Pát*raic* dinleith andes dosleib Mis—ata *cro*ss isininad-sin,—*con*accaiside uad in tenid dichein. Rosocht f*ri* ré da uair *no* t*ri* nuair. Annocnited *ocus* annoesed[2] iss*ed* rorade: "Tene thaige Mil*chon* sucut," [3] ol Pát*raic*, "iarnalosc*ud* do féin immedon a thaige ar na roc*reit*e*th* do Día ifo*r*ciunn aáissi. In fer asaerbaid aire," arse, "ní bía rí na rígdamna uada, *ocus* isa fognam bías aṡil *ocus* a sem*en* t*re* bithu, *ocus* ni terga [a]anum ahIf*r*inn cob*ra*th nach iarmbráth."

Ocus ótrub*air*t na b*r*iat*hra*sa imsoi deisell *ocus* dothoet ina f*r*ithlurg af*ri*[t]hisi itír ṅUl*ad* [3 a. 1] co taracht Magh[4] Inis co Díchoin *mac* Trichim; *ocus* roan ann f*ri* ré cíana hic silad *cre*itme, co tuc Ultu huili *tre* lín intṡoiscelai dochum puirt béthad.

Dochoid Pat*raic* iar*um* on Saball fadeis coropritchad doRus mac Trichim. Is heiside robói inDerl*ús* f*ri* Dún Lethglaisi andess. Ata cathair becc indiu .i. Mrechtan, ubi[5] est episcopus Lóairnn qui ausus

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[1] di, E.

[2] This is corrupt. Read *Annocneted ocus annoosnaiged* = Colgan's 'in gemitus et fletus to[t]us resolutus.'

[3] suguth, E.

[4] madh, E.

[5] Here in the left margin stands the compendium for *post*. The same mark infra, p. 46, line 12.

Patrick went to preach to Miliuc, as he had said; and he took with him gold to impress belief upon him, for he knew that Miliuc was greedy for gold. Now, when Miliuc heard that Patrick had arrived, he was not willing to believe and to quit the bad, heathen law in which he was biding. He deemed it a shame to believe in his slave and to be subject to him. This is the counsel which the Devil taught him. He entered his palace, along with his gold and his silver, and he himself set fire to it and burnt it with the whole of his treasures; and his soul went to hell. Then Patrick stood still on the southern side of Slemish—there stands a cross in that place—and he saw the fire from afar. He was silent for the space of two hours or three hours. While he was sighing and groaning, this he said: "Yon is the fire of Miliuc's house," saith Patrick, "after burning himself amidst his house lest he should believe in God at the end of his life. He on whom his bane is lying," saith he, "of him shall be neither king nor crown-prince, and in bondage will his offspring and his seed abide for ever, and his soul shall not come out of hell up to doom or after doom."

And when he had spoken these words he turned right-handwise, and went back again into Ulster until he came to Mag Inis, to Dichu son of Trichem; and there he stayed a long while sowing belief, until he brought all the Ulstermen by the net of the Gospel to the harbour of Life.

Then Patrick went from the Barn southwards that he might preach to Ross son of Trichem. He it is that dwelt in Derlus to the south of Downpatrick;—there stands a small town there to-day—namely, Bright—where is bishop Loairn, who dared to blame Patrick

Egerton, 93, fo. 3 a. 1.

est increpare Patricium tenentem manum púeri ludentis æclesiam iuxta suam.

Ambái, di*no*, Pát*raic* híarnaset *co*naccai macthóclaig ocingairi mucc, Mochae aainm. Ropritchai Pát*raic* do, *ocus* rombaitsi *ocus* romberr, *ocus* doratt soiscela *ocus* menistir dó. *Ocus* doratt dó, da*no*, fecht aile bachaill tucad doib oDía .i. acénd inucht Pát*raic* *ocus* acoss inucht Mochæ; *ocus* isí sin ind detech [leg. etech][1] Móchæ Nóend*r*oma. *Ocus* dorairgert Mochǣ mucc bér[r]tha cecha blia*dna* doPát*raic*, *ocus* is*ed* ón adoberar[2] fós.

O rocomaicsegestar,[3] da*no*, sol*lomain* nacasc, romídir Pát*raic* nad bái baili bád cuidbiu do árdsol*lomain* na blia*dna* .i. in casc do ceilebra[d], *indás* hiMaig Breg, baili imbai cend ídlachta *ocus* drúidechta na hÉir*enn* .i. hí Temr*aig*. Rocheilebraiset iarsin do Díchuin m*ac* T*r*ichim, *ocus* doratsat a luing f*or* muir, *ocus* dodechatar corrogabsat inInb*iur* Cholpthai.

F*or*acabsat a lungai isininbiur *ocus* dodechotar iar tír corroachtatar Fertea Fer Féce, *ocus* rosáided pupoll Pát*raic* isin inad sein, *ocus* roben in tenid chascæ. Dorala, da*no*, conid si sein aims*er* i celebarthai ardsollamuin nangente .i. feis Temra. Tictis na rígha *ocus* na fl*ath*a *ocus* naairig coLoighairi m*ac* Neill doThemr*aig* f*ri*ceilebrad ind líthlaithi hisin.[4] Tictis, da*no*, in

[1] isi sin inditchech Mochoe Noendroma, Second Life, c. 32: where *itchech* is rendered "volatilis" by Colgan. He has *Eteac*[*h*]*Mochai*, Tr. Th. p. 125.

[2] atberar, E.

[3] Orocounaicsegestar, E.

[4] So in the Second Life, c. 34: *Isisin indaimsir sindam* [leg. is ind am] *dorighnedhned* [leg. dorigned] *feis Temradhi* [leg. Temrach] *la Loegaire mac Neill ocus la firu Ereann* [leg. Érenn].

for driving away[1] a boy who was playing close to his church.

Now while Patrick was (going) along his way, he saw a tender youth herding swine. Mochae was his name. Patrick preached to him and baptized him, and tonsured him, and gave him a gospel and a credence-table. And he gave him, also, at another time, a crozier that had been bestowed on them by God, to wit, (it fell from heaven with) its head in Patrick's bosom and its foot in Mochae's bosom, and this is the Etech ("winged thing") of Mochae of Noendruim. And Mochae promised a shaven pig every year to Patrick; and this is still offered.

Now, when the high-tide of Easter drew nigh, Patrick thought that there was no place fitter for the chief solemnity of the year, that is, for celebrating Easter, than in Mag Breg, in the place wherein was the chief (abode) of the idolatry and wizardry of Ireland, to wit, in Tara. Then they bade farewell to Dichu son of Trichem, and put their vessel to sea, and went on till they anchored in Inver Colptha.

They left their vessel in the estuary and went along the land till they came to Ferta Fer Féicc [the Graves of Fíacc's Men], and Patrick's tent was pitched in that place, and he struck the paschal fire. It happened, then, that that was the time at which was celebrated the high-tide of the heathen, to wit, the Feast of Tara. The kings and the lords and the chiefs used to come to Tara, to Loegaire son of Niall, to celebrate that festival therein.

[1] The Latin *tenentem manum* seems a translation of the Irish phrase *gabáil láma*, so often used in the Tripartite Life for "expelling."

Egerton, 93, fo. 3 a. 1—3 a. 2.

druid *ocus* na maith*mairc* combitís oc tairchetul doib. Robáid*eth*, di*no*, téne cach tellaig ind hEir*inn* anaidche sin, *ocus* roescarad laisinrigh naróaddaidi tene indhÉi*rinn* ré tenid inna Temrach, *ocus* na gebtha ór na argat ónti nóataifed, *acht* a techt bas ind. Ní fit*ir* Pat*raic* inní sein, *ocus* céa rófessad níntairmeiscfed.

Am*al* batar ann lucht na Temr*ach* conaccatar antene chasecda chosecartha uadib, roaddai[1] Pát*raic*. Roṡoilsig Mag Breg uile. Is ann sein adub*air*t in rí: "Is coll geisi *ocus* cána damsa inní sin, *ocus* findaid cía doronai." "Adchí[a]m," ol na drúid, "in tenid, *ocus* rofetamar in aidhci indernad manidíbdaither,"[2] olséat, "ré matain ní baithfidther cob*r*áth. In fer, da*no*, adannai fo*r*uaisligfe ríga *ocus* flaith*i* na hÉir*enn* mani tairmisct*er* imbi." Otchual*a* in ri inní sein fo*r*[f]uasnad comór. Is ann asrubairt in rí: "Ní ba ed bías de, *acht* regmaidne," olsé, "coromharbum [3 a. 2] infer roaddai[3] in tene. Roindleta, di*no*, acharpuit *ocus* a groigi don ríg, *ocus* dodechator (.i. in fine noctis) co Ferrtai Ḟer Fec. "Is foimnidi duitsiu, thra," ol nad*r*uid, "nadechais don lucc indernad intene arnaróadræ in fer adidannai; acht an[4] immaig, *ocus* co[g]garar duit imach ut iudicet[5] régem té esse, illum autem subditum; *ocus* taccrmait infar fiadnaisi." "Is degcom*a*rle," olsé, "dogéntar am*al* asb*er*idh."

Tancatar íarsin coroscoirset anechu *ocus* a cairpthiu arbelaib naFertæ. Coggarar Pát*raic* dóib immach, *ocus* rosmachtad léu arnaeirsed nech arach*inn* arnaroch*r*eided

[1] roaddaig, E.
[2] manidídbaither, E.
[3] noadaig, E.
[4] infer asidan neachtan, E.
[5] indicet, E.

The wizards, also, and the augurs would come so that they were prophesying to them. On that night, then, the fire of every hearth in Ireland was quenched, and it was proclaimed by the King that no fire should be kindled in Ireland before the fire of Tara, and that neither gold nor silver should be taken (as compensation) from him who should kindle it, but that he should go to death for his crime. Patrick knew not that, and even though he had known (it), this would not have hindered him.

As the folk of Tara were biding there, they saw (at some distance) from them the paschal consecrated fire which Patrick had kindled. It lighted up the whole of Mag Breg. Then said the King: "That is a breach of a ban and law of mine: (go) and find out who hath done so." "We see," say the wizards, "the fire, and we know that unless it is quenched on the night on which it was made, it will not be quenched till doomsday. He, moreover, who kindled it will vanquish the kings and lords of Ireland unless he is forbidden." When the King heard that, he was mightily disturbed. Then said the King, "This shall not be. But we will go," saith he, "and slay the man who kindled the fire." Then his chariots and his horses were yoked for the King, and they went at the end of the night to the Graves of Fiacc's Men. "Thou shouldst take heed,"[1] say the wizards, "not to go to the place where the fire was made, that thou mayst not do reverence to the man who kindled it; but stay outside, and let him be called out to thee, that he may judge that thou art the King, and that he is the subject, and we will argue in your presence." "It is good advice," saith he (the king): "it shall be done as ye say."

They came thereafter and unyoked their horses and their chariots before the Graves. Patrick is called out to them, and they made a rule that no one should

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[1] Lit. 'it is to be observed by thee, called to mind.'

Egerton, 93, fo. 3 a. 2.

dó. Atraracht, *tra*, Pát*raic* *ocus* dodech*aid* imach *con*accai nacairpthiu *ocus* nahecho f*or*scur. Isann róca*chain* in fers fáith*ech*,[1] Hií in curribus et hií in equis,[2] nos autem in nomine Domini Dei nostri magni.[3] Robátar, di*no*, arachind, *ocus* immbél a scíath *fría* smechu, *ocus* ní hérracht nech dib arachind *acht* áonfer namá hirobái figuir o Día .i. Ercc m*ac* Dega. Is héiside epsc*op* hErcc fil iSlani Maige Bregh indíu. Dorat Pat*raic* be*n*nacht fair *ocus* rocr*e*id do Día, *ocus* foruismi in hiris cathol*acdai*, *ocus* robaits*ed*; *ocus* adr*u*bairt Pát*raic* f*rís*: "Bídh árd, bíd úasal do chathir ítalum;" *ocus* dlegair do comarbu Pát*raic* aglún do tccbail réna comhar*ba* cob*rá*th tarhes*i* a humail*dóite*.

Rofíarf*aig* cach, di*no*, scéla díacheli .i. Pát*raic* *ocus* Lóeg*airi*. Dodechaid Lochru corosir *ocus* coengach, co cosnam *ocus* cestaib, f*ri* Pát*raic*; *ocus* is annséin doréll f*or*écnuch na T*rí*noti *ocus* na hirsi cath*lacdae*. Rofég Pát*raic* iarsin co andíarid fair, *ocus* doriucart o guth mor ré Dia, oc*us* ised rorádc: "Domine, qui omnia potes, et in tua potestate[4] consistunt [omnia], quique nos mísisti huc, [ad nomen tuum gentibus praedicandum,] hic impius, qui blasphemat nomen tuum,[5] eleu[e]tur nunc foras, et cito moriatur." Et hís dictis cleuatus est magus[6] in haera et iterum desuper cito deiectus, sparso[7] ad lapidem cerebro, comminutus, et mort[u]us fúerat coram eís. Roimeclaigsitar na genti doséin.

Rófergaigestar in rí, di*no*, f*ri* Pát*raic* comór, *ocus* dochuaid doraith leis a marbad. Ised rorádæ Lóeg*aire* ré a múint*ir*, "Marb*aid* in cl*érech*." Otc*hon*dairc Pát*raic* annísin, nagenti dochoméirghi f*rís*, doriugart ó guth mór, et dixit:[8] "Éxsurgat Deus et dissipentur[9] inimici

[1] faith.ec, E.
[2] cirus, E.
[3] Ps. xx. 7.
[4] túa nos potestate, E.
[5] blasfe niat no. tuam E.
[6] magiís, E.
[7] demisus desuper uero, E.
[8] dixit ct, E.
[9] dissipientur, E.

rise up to meet him, lest he should believe in him. So Patrick arose and went forth, and saw the chariots and the horses unyoked. Then he chanted the prophetic verse "*Some (trust) in chariots and some in horses; but we in the name of the Lord our mighty God.*" They were biding before him with the rims of their shields against their chins, and none of them rose up before him save one man only in whom was a nature from God, namely Erc son of Deg. He is the bishop Erc who is to-day in Slane of Mag Breg. Patrick bestowed a blessing upon him, and he believed in God and confessed the catholic faith, and was baptized; and Patrick said to him: "Thy city on earth will be high, will be noble;" and Patrick's successor is forever bound to . . . . his knee before Erc's successor after (receiving) his homage.

Each, then, asked tidings of the other, namely, Patrick and Loegaire. (The wizard) Lochru went angrily and noisily, with contention and questions, against Patrick; and then did he go astray into blaspheming the Trinity and the catholic faith. Patrick thereafter looked wrathfully upon him, and cried with a great voice unto God, and this he said: "Lord, who canst do all things, and on whose power dependeth all that exists, and who hast sent us hither to preach Thy name to the heathen, let this ungodly man, who blasphemeth Thy name, be lifted up, and let him forthwith die!" When he said this, the wizard was raised into the air and forthwith again cast down, and his brains were scattered on the stone, and he was broken in pieces, and died in their presence. The heathen were adread at that.

The king, then, was greatly enraged against Patrick and wished (?) at once to kill him. Loegaire said this to his household: "Slay the cleric!" When Patrick saw this, the heathen arising against him, he cried with a great voice, and said: "Let God arise, and let His enemies be

Egerton, 93, fo. 3. a, 2, 3 b. 1.

eius, et fugiant qui óderunt eum a facie eius. Sicut deficit[1] fumus [sic] deficiant,[2] sicut fluit caera a facie ignis, síc pereant peccatores a facie Dei."[3] Foc*et*óir dodech*uid* dorcha dar g*re*in, *ocus* f*or*co[e]mnacair talumcumscúghud *ocus* armchrith mor ann. Indarléo isnem dorochair f*or* tal*main*, *con*dechatar nagraigi hí fuascur, *ocus* coroimluaid[4] in goeth innacairpthiu t*re*sna maigib. *Con*érracht [3 b. 1] cach dialailiu isin dail, corabi cach díib i*ar*nár [?] acheili, cotorchair coica fer díib hisin coimeirgiu hísin lamallach*tain* Pát*raic*.

Rotheichestar ass ingenti f*or* cach leth, *con*ach tarrasair *acht* t*ria*r namma .i. Loeg*ai*ri *ocus* a rígan *ocus* duine dia muint*ir*, et timuerunt ualde. Veniensque regina ad Pátricium .i. Angass ingen Tassaig m*ai*c Liathain, dixit ei: "Homo iuste et potens, né perdas régem. Dorega in rí cucut *ocus* dob*er*a do réir, *ocus* slechtfaid *ocus* c*re*itfid do Día." Dodéch*aid*, da*no*, Loeg*ai*ri, *ocus* roslécht do Pat*raic*, *ocus* dorat brecśíth dó.

Nír bú cían iarsin róchoggair in rí leis Pát*raic* f*or*leith, *ocus* is*ed* roimraid amarb*ad*, *ocus* ní f*or*choemnacair. Forḟoilsig Día doPát*raic* inní sin. Ad*rubairt* Láog*ai*ri f*ri* Pát*raic*: "Tair im díaidsi,[5] áchleir*ig*, do Temr*aig* corochr*e*itiur duit arbél*aibh* fer nEir*enn*." *Ocus* rosuidigsom calleic etarnaid[6] cechbelaig oFerta Fer Féic coTemr*aig* archiunn Pát*raic* diamharb*ad*. *Acht* nírocomarleic Día dó. Dodhech*aid* Pat*raic* ochtor maccléir*ech ocus* Benén do gillu léu, *ocus* rosbendach Pát*raic* réduidecht. Dodech*aid* dícheltair tairsiu *con*árárdraig fer dib. Atchoncatar, im*morro*, na gentlidi[7] batar isna intledaib ocht naige altaige dotecht secu fón sliab, *ocus* iarndóe innandegaid *ocus* gaile[8] f*or* agúalaind: Pat*raic* aochtar, *ocus* Benen inandeg*aid*h *ocus* a ḟolaire f*or* a muin.

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[1] defecit, E.

[2] deffi., E.

[3] Ps. lxviii. 1, 2. For 'pereant' E. has 'perient.'

[4] coroimluaig, E.

[5] amdíaigsi, E.

[6] etarnaig, E.

[7] gentligi, E.

[8] *gaile* usually means 'stomach.' I have followed Colgan, who renders it here by 'sarcina.'

scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before him. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so let them vanish; like as wax melteth at the fire, so let the ungodly perish at the presence of God." At once darkness came over the sun, and a great earthquake and trembling of arms took place there. It seemed to them that the sky fell on the earth, and the horses went off in fright, and the wind whirled the chariots through the fields. And each rose up to the other in the assembly, so that each of them was after slaying the other, and fifty men of them fell in that uprising by Patrick's curse.

The heathen fled thence on every side, so that only three remained, namely, Loegaire and his queen and one of his household, and they feared greatly. And the queen, to wit, Angas daughter of Tassach son of Liathan, came to Patrick and said to him, "O just and mighty man, do not destroy the king. The king shall come to thee and shall do thy will, and shall kneel and believe in God." So Loegaire went and knelt to Patrick, and gave him a false peace.

Not long thereafter the king called Patrick to him apart, and he meditated killing him, and (this) came not to pass. God manifested that to Patrick. Loegaire said to Patrick; "Come after me, O cleric, to Tara, that I may believe in thee in presence of the men of Ireland." And straightway he set an ambush on every path from the Graves of Fiacc's Men to Tara, before Patrick, to slay him. But God permitted not this to him. Patrick went with eight young clerics and Benén as a gillie with them, and Patrick blessed them before going. A cloak of darkness went over them so that not a man of them appeared. Howbeit, the heathen who were biding in the snares saw eight deer going past them under the mountain, and behind them a fawn with a bundle on its shoulder: (that was) Patrick with his eight, and Benén behind them with his tablets on his back.

Tr.Thaum. p. 126. [Tunc vir sanctus composuit illum hymnum patrio idiomate conscriptum, qui vulgo *Fáed fíada*,[1] et ab aliis *Lorica Patricii* appellatur. Et in summo abinde inter Hibernos habetur pretio, quia creditur, et multa experientia probatur, pie recitantes ab imminentibus animae et corporis praeservare periculis.]

FÁED FÍADA.

E. 4. 2., fo. 19^{b}. [Atomriug indíu niurt trén, togairm Trínóite.[2]
Cretim treodataid fóisitin[3] óendatad inDúlemain dail.
Atomriug indiu niurt gene Cr*ist* conabath]is,[4]
Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 a. 1. neurt a croctha *con*aadnac*ul*.
neurt aeiseirgi *con*afreasgab*ail*.
neurt athoiniuda f*ri* brithemn*us* mb*ra*tha.
Atto[m]riug [indiu] neurt g*ra*id hiruphín
inerlattaid aingiul.
ifrestal nanarchaingiul.
if*re*scisin esérgi[5] arcend foc*ra*ici.
inernaigthi uasalathr*ach*.
itaircetlaib fáthi.
ipreceptaib apstal.
inirisib faísmedach.
inendccai nóebingen.
ingnimaib fer fírioin.[6]
Atto[m]riug [indiu] neurt nime.
soillsi gr*éi*ne.
etrochta ésci.
[áne thened.
déne lóchet.][7]
luathi gaithi.
fudomna mara.

[1] Feth-fiadha, Colgan.

[2] trinoit, E. 4. 2., trinoite, Eg. 93, *fo.* 19^{a}.

[3] fóisin, E. 4. 2., foisitin, E.

[4] I have inserted the title, and have taken the words and letters in brackets from E. 4. 2. the copy of Liber Hymnorum in Trinity College, Dublin.

[5] ifrescisiu nesergi, R., iffreiscisin eisergi, E.

[6] Read fírian.

[7] From the Trinity College Liber Hymnorum, fo. 19^{b}.

[THE DEER'S CRY.]

I bind myself to-day to a strong virtue, an invocation of the Trinity.
I believe in a Threeness with confession of an Oneness in the Creator of the universe.
I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Christ's birth with his baptism,
to the virtue of his crucifixion with his burial,
to the virtue of his resurrection with his ascension,
to the virtue of his coming to the Judgment of Doom.
I bind myself to-day to the virtue of ranks of Cherubim.
In obedience of Angels,
In the service of the Archangels,
In hope of resurrection for reward,
In prayers of Patriarchs,
In predictions of Prophets,
In preachings of Apostles,
In faiths of Confessors,
In innocence of holy Virgins,
In deeds of righteous men.
I bind myself to-day to (the) virtue of Heaven,
light of Sun,
brightness of Moon,
splendour of Fire,
speed of Lightning,
swiftness of Wind,
depth of Sea,

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 a. 1.

tairismigi talm*an*.
cobsaidi alech.
Atto[m]riug indiu neurt Dé dom lúamairecht.
c*um*achta ṅDé dom *con*gbáil.
cíall ṅDé domimthús.[1]
rosc ṅDe dom imcaisin.
clúas ṅDe doméiste*cht*.
briat*har* ṅDé domerlabrai.
lám ṅDé domimdegail.
intech ṅDe domremthechtus.
sciath Dé domimdíten.
sochraiti Dé domanacul.
ar indledaib demna,
ar aslagib duala*ch*,
ar foirmdechaib acnid,
ar cec*h* nduine midúthracair dam
icéin, anocc*us*
inuath*iud*. isoch*aidi*.
Tochuiriur etrum indíu inna hule neurtasa
f*ri* cec*h* neurt namn*us* nétrocar f*r*istái dom churp *ocus* domanmain.
f*ri* taircetlaib saebfáthe.
[fri dubrechtu gentliuchta]
f*ri* sæbrechtaib [heretecda.
fri himcellacht nidlachta.
fri brichta] ban *ocus* goband *ocus* druád.
f*ri* cec*h* fis aracuiliu corp *ocus* anmain duni.[2]

Cr*is*t domimdegail [indiu] ar cec*h* neim
ar losc*ud*, ar bádudh, ar guin
*con*imraib ilar fochraici.

Cr*is*t lim. Cr*is*t remam. Cr*is*t imm degaid.

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[1] domthúr, R.; domimtus, E. | [2] dam, R.; duine, E.

stability of Earth,
compactness of Rock.

I bind myself to-day to God's Virtue to pilot me,
God's Might to uphold me,
God's Wisdom to guide me,
God's Eye to look before me,
God's Ear to hear me,
God's Word to speak for me,
God's Hand to guard me,
God's Way to lie before me,
God's Shield to protect me,
God's Host to secure me,
Against snares of demons,
Against seductions of vices,
Against . . . . of nature,
Against every one who wishes ill to me,
Afar and anear,
Alone and in a multitude.

I summon to-day all these virtues between me [and these evils:],
Against every cruel, merciless power which may come against my body and my soul:
Against incantations of false prophets,
Against black laws of heathenry,
Against false laws of heretics,
Against craft of idolatry,
Against spells of women and smiths and wizards,
Against every knowledge that hath defiled man's body and soul.

Christ to protect me to day against every poison,
Against burning, against drowning, against death-wound,
So that I may have a multitude of rewards.
Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me,

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 a. 1.

Cr*ist* innum. Cr*ist* ísum. Cr*ist* úasam.
Cr*ist* dessum. Cr*ist* tuathum.
Cr*ist* illi*us*. Cr*ist* ipsi*us* (sic), Cr*ist* incr*us*.
Cr*ist* hicr*i*de cec*h* duine rodomscrútadar.
Cr*ist* angin cech duine rodomlabradar.
Cr*ist* ir*u*scc cec*h* duine rodomdecadar.
Cr*ist* iclúais cec*h* duine rodo*m*cluinedar.
[Atomriug indíu niurt trén, togairm Trínóite.
Cretim treodataid fóisitin óendatad in Dulemain dail.]
Domini est salus. Domini est salus. Christi est lus.[1]
[Salus] tua Domine sit semper nobiscum.[2] Amen.

Egerton 93, fo. 3 b. 1.

Dochuaid iarsin Lóeg*aire* on dedoil dochum Temrach combr*ón* *ocus* commebuil[3] cosnahuaitib nóernatis leis.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 a. 2.

Isind laithiu iarnabarach (.i. dominica pasca[4]) dodechat*ar* fir Erend dochum Temr*ach* do fledól, ar bá laithi nairech*da* leos*um* indfeis Temrach. Intan robat*ar* oc indfledhol *ocus* imradud in *con*flichta rofersat allá riám, *con*accat*ar* Pat*raic* cotarr*a*sair f*or* lár na-Temr*ach*, ianuís clausís ut Christus in cenaculum. Fobíth roimráid Pat*raic*, "Rega," olsé, "coro foillsigiur moerlataid arbél*aib* fer nEr*enn*. Ni ba 'caindel fó dabaich' dogén dím, *con*acor," olsé, "cía creitfes dam *ocus* nátcreitfi." Nochanéracht nech arachind istaig *acht* Dubthach m*a*cc úLugair namá, rígfil*e* indsi hEr*enn* *ocus* indr*í*g *ocus* móithóccl*ach* dia muinti*r*, Fíacc aainm. Isheside itá iSleibti indiu. INDubtach sin, da*no*, isé cétna fe*r* rocreit do Día iTemraich isindlaithi sin. Dorat Pat*raic* be*n*nachtain fair *ocus* forasíl.

[1] For "Christi est salus," R. has "salus Christi."
[2] nobiscum, R.
[3] combebuil, E.
[4] domn*ach* casca, E.

Christ in me, Christ below me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left!
Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height (?)!
Christ in the heart of every one who thinks of me,
Christ in the mouth of every one who speaks to me,
Christ in the eye of every one that sees me,
Christ in the ear of every one that hears me!

I bind myself to-day to a strong virtue, an invocation of the Trinity.

I believe a Threeness with confession of a Oneness in (the) Creator of the Universe.

Salvation is the Lord's, salvation is the Lord's, salvation is Christ's.

May thy salvation, Lord, be always with us! Amen.

Thereafter went Loegaire at daybreak[1] to Tara in grief and in shame, together with the few that had escaped with him.

On the following day the men of Ireland went to Tara to carouse, for with them the feast of Tara was an especial day. When they were carousing and thinking of the conflict they had fought on the day before, they saw Patrick standing still in the middle of Tara, the doors being shut, as when Christ came into the dining-room.[2] Because Patrick thought, "I will go," saith he, "that I may manifest my readiness before the men of Ireland. It is not 'a candle under a vat' that I will make of myself. So that I may see," saith he, who (it is) that will believe in me, and who will not believe." No one rose up before him in the house save only Dubthach Maccu-Lugair, king-poet of the island of Ireland and of the king, and a stripling of his household named Fiacc. It is he (Fiacc) who is in Sleibte to-day. Now, that Dubthach is the first man who believed in God in Tara on that day. Patrick bestowed a blessing on him and on his offspring.

[1] = deluculo.

[2] John xx. 26.

Rawl. B. 512, fol. 7 a. 2.

Gairmth*ir*, di*no*, Pat*ricc* dochum leptha indr*í*g cotormolath bíath *ocus* diafromad hifáitsine.[1] Ní roobai, da*no*, Patr*aic* innísin, dég rofit*ir* inní arbiad de. Dodeoch*aid* in drúi Lucatmæl do comól fr*iss*, fobith robadh adlaic do aaithi do Pat*raic* aní dorighni fr*ia* fer comtha isindláu ríam .i. Locru. Dorat, di*no*, intí Lucatmæl loimm do nim isinnardig robói f*or* laim Pat*raic* conaccath cid dogenath [Patraic] fris. Rorathaig,[2] di*no*, Pat*raic* anísin, *ocus* robennachsidi indairdig, *ocus* rochoteg ind lind. Roimmpai inlest*ar* iarsin *ocus* dorochair ass inneim dorat in drai ind. Robe*n*nach Pat*raic* doridisi indairdig *ocus* rosoadh inlind innaaicned choír. Romórad ainm Dé *ocus* Pat*raic* desin. Iss*ed* indso rogab Pat*ricc* f*or*sincailech: "Gaibiu anfis ibiu anfis fri sia [7 b. 1] úathib ibiu lithu in Christo Iesu, amen."[3] .i. "ciabeith afis ocund, cenco fil, íbthar inanmum Ísu Cr*ist*."

fol. 7 b. 1.

Dodeochat*ar* iarsin innasluaig corobat*ar* secht*air* Temr*aig* immaig. "Denam," ol Lucatmæl, "ferta arbel*aib* intslúaig isinmaig morsa." Adub*air*t Pat*raic*, "Catcat?" Adub*air*t in drui, "Tucam snech*ta* f*or*sinmag corobgel inmag ararmbel*aib*." Atrub*air*t Pat*raic* rissom: "Ní hail dam tictain indag*aid*[4] thoili Dé." Atr*u*b*air*t indrúi, "Dob*ér*sa insnechta f*or*sinmag cincopáil duitsiu." Tindarscan iarsin inna filidechta

[1] .i. in uenturis reblus (leg. rebus), E.

[2] Rorathaid, R. and E.

[3] Gaibiu anfis ibu *ocus* rl., E. In Harl. 432 (Mus. Brit.) fo. 1 a. 1 these words are thus given:—Cuach lán do neim dorat drui do na druidib do, *ocus* rofaillsig*ed* do Patraic eisidhi, *ocus* gunad annsin dorinde Patraic nabriathrasa isanlind: "Iubu fis friibu fis ibu anfis frisbru uatha ibu lithu Christi Iesu." *Ocus* cidbe gabus sin for nim no linn ni bia ircholt de. No comad e "In nomine Dei Patris", doneth and *ocus* rochanad isin lind. (A wizard of the wizards gave him a cup full of poison, and this was made manifest to Patrick, and thereupon Patrick made these words over the liquor, "*Iubu fis*," etc. And whoever recites that over poison or liquor shall have no hurt therefrom. Or it may have been (the canticle) "In the name of God the Father" that was made there and was chanted over the liquor.)

[4] corragabatar, E.

[5] inaigid, E.

Patrick, then, is summoned to the King's couch, that he might consume food and be proven in prophecy. Patrick refused not that, because he knew what would come thereof. The wizard Lucat-moel went to drink with him, because he had a mind to avenge on Patrick what he had done the day before to his (Lucat Mael's) comrade, Lochru. So Lucat-moel put a sip of poison into the cup that stood at Patrick's hand, so that he might see what he would do unto it. Patrick observed that, and he blessed the cup, and the liquor curdled. He then inverted the vessel, and out of it fell the poison which the wizard had put into it. Patrick again blessed the cup, and the liquor was turned into its proper nature. God's name and Patrick's was magnified thereby. This is what Patrick recited over the cup: *Gaibiu anfis, ibiu anfis,*[1] *fri sia úathib ibiu lithu in Christo Jesu, Amen;*" that is, "though we have knowledge of it, though we have not, it shall be quaffed in the name of Jesus Christ."

Then came the hosts till they were all biding without Tara in the plain. "Let us," said Lucat-moel, "work miracles before the host in that great plain." Said Patrick: "Which be they?" Said the wizard: "Let us bring snow on the plain till the plain be white in front of us." Said Patrick to him: "I have no desire to go against God's will." Said the wizard: "I will bring the snow on the plain although it be not thy desire." Then he began the chants of wizardry and the arts of devilry, so that the snow fell till it reached men's girdles. They all

[1] These words may mean: "I take in ignorance, I will drink in ignorance." The rest of the Irish is obscure.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 b. 1.

druidechta *ocus* inna heladna demnacdai coroferastair[1] insnech*ta* cotoracht fernu fer. Uiderunt omnes *ocus* romachtaigsetar comór. Atrub*airt* Pat*raic*, "Atchiam inso. Cuir ass mad *con*nicci." At*rubairt* in drui: "Ni cumcaimsi innísin *cus*in *trá*thsa imbarach." "Darmo debródh," olPat*raic*, "isindulc atá documa*chta* *ocus* ní immaith." Rob*en*nach Pat*raic* amag uada focethoira[2] arda. Is deniu rád rothinai in snech*ta* cen fleochad, cen gréin, cen góith, la bré*th*ir Pat*raic*.

Dodeochata*r* iarsin dorchai dar f*or*gnuís intalma*n* la dícet*ul*[3] indruad. Rogáirset nasluaig dośen. At*rub**airt* Pat*raic*, "Expelle tenebras." At*rubairt* in drúi, "Nocha cumcaim indíu." Rogaid Pat*ricc* inCoimdi[d] *ocus* robendach amag, *ocus* ro indarbanta nadorchai, *ocus* doraitne ingrían, *ocus* rognísit[4] atlaigthi buidi innahuli.

Robata*r*, *tra*, cocíana *ocon* chonflichtasa[5] arbél*aib* ind*rig*. Et am*al* roráidi Ner fri Simon [*ocus* fri] Petar, ait rex ad illos, "Libros uestros in aquam mittite, et illum cuius libri illaesi[6] euaserint adorabimus." Respondit Patricius, "Faciam ego." Et dixit magus, "Nolo [7 b. 2] ego ad iudicium íre aquæ cum ipso: aqua[m] enim deum habet." Dég rochualasom is *tria* usq*ue* nobaitsed[7] Pat*raic*. Et respondit rex, "Mittite ergo in ign*em*." Et ait Patricius, "Promtus sum." At magus nolenss dixit: "Hic homo uersa uice in alternos [annos] nunc aquam, nunc ignem, deum ueneratur." "Niba ed dogentar, ann," olPat*raic*, "aritbe*r*iso[8] is dea teneth adraimsi, regasu, másathol duit, hitech f*or*dunta f*or*leth, *ocus* m*a*cclé*ir*ech dimmuintirsi hit-[f]arrath, *ocus* mochassalsa immotsu, *ocus* dothonach drúadsu immom macclé*ir*e*ch*sa, *ocus* dob*er*thar teine

[1] corofers*us*tair, R.; corrofer*us*tair, E.

[2] uad fóchetheor, E.

[3] díchitel, E.

[4] dogniset, E.

[5] *chon*flicht so, E.

[6] libre illeis, R.

[7] Sic E.; robaitsed, R.

[8] Sic E.; aritberidso, R.

saw and marvelled greatly. Said Patrick: "We see this. Put it away if thou canst." Said the wizard: I cannot do that till this hour to-morrow." "By my God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it is in evil thy power stands, and not in good." Patrick blessed the plain throughout the four quarters. Quicker than speech, at Patrick's word the snow vanished, without rain, without sun, without wind.

Then at the wizard's incantation came darkness over the face of the earth. Thereat the hosts cried out. Said Patrick: "Dispel the darkness." The wizard said: "I cannot to-day." Patrick prayed to the Lord, and blessed the plain, and the darkness was banished and the sun shone, and all gave thanks.

They were for a long while at this contention in the presence of the King. And even as Nero said to Simon (Magus) and to Peter, saith the King to them: "Cast your books into water; and we will honour him whose books shall come out unhurt." Patrick replied: "I will do so." And the wizard said: "I am unwilling to go with him to the ordeal of water. For he hath water as a god." (The wizard said this) because he had heard that Patrick used to baptize with water. And the King answered: "Cast them, then, into fire." And Patrick saith: "I am ready." But the wizard, unwilling, said: "This man, turn about in alternate years, venerates as a god now water and now fire." "That will not be done," saith Patrick, "(but) since thou sayest that I adore a god of fire, thou shalt go, if thou art willing, apart into a house completely shut up, and a cleric of my household before thee, and my chasuble around thee, and thy wizard's tunic round my cleric, and fire shall be put into the house, so that God may deal dooms on

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 7 b 2.

isin tech coruca Día bretha f*or*ib ann." Deisid léu in chomarli sin .i. la firu Er*enn* imLoeg*airi*.[1]

Isand sin tancat*ar* coPa*traic* natri m*a*caim bát*ar* hingiallnai icLóig*ai*ri. Ciit f*ri* Pat*raic*. Immcomairc Pát*raic* "cid annsin?" "Fír flatha," ol síat, "do brisiud hi p*ri*mcathr*aig* nanGoedel .i. atech gníther etir indruí *ocus* dogil*lae* [is amlaid gníther .i. leth de úr *ocus* leth crín .i. in leth úr don drai *ocus* in crin dot gillasu [2]]." Dob*eir* Pat*raic* amér f*or*grúaid ndeiss cec*h* m*ei*c dib *ocus* dob*eir* dér dig*ruaid* cech m*ei*c f*or*adernaind clí, *ocus* dobir a anáil fóithib, *con*dernai teora gema díb. Sloicsitt inm*ai*c nagemai. "Genfit," olPa*traic*, "teora gemai airechdai huadib" .i. Col*omb cille ocus* Comgall *ocus* Finnía.

Dorónath iarsin intech, indala leth de c*rín*, araile úr. Rofóided, da*no*, indrúi isindleth núr *ocus* casal Pat*raic* imbe. Rofoided, da*no*, Benen isindleth crín *ocus* tonach indrúad imsuidiu. Roíadhad intech iar*om* impaibsium, *ocus* doratad *cr*and arcleith airi immach arbelaib intsluaig, *ocus* adagar teine and. Forcoemnacair firt mór and *tre* irnaigthi Pát*raic*. Roloisceth aleth[3] núr don tig *ocus* indrúi[4] immedón nacaisle, *ocus* niromill abec [8 a. 1] dinchasail. Ní roloisc*ed*, im*morro*, alleth c*rín* irabai Be*nen*, *ocus* roanacht [Dia] Be*nen* immedón tonaigi indrúad,[5] *ocus* roloisc*ed* in tonach *con*de*r*nai luaith di.

Rofergaigestar in rí f*ri* Pa*traic* comór dimarb*ad* adrúad. Adráracht *ocus* dochóid doraith leis a marb*ad*,[6] *ach*t ní rochomarleic Día dó *tre* etarguide Pat*raic*. Dodeochaid iarsin ferg Dé f*or*sinpop*ul* néc*ra*ibdech, *con*erbailt soch*aid*e mor díb .i. xii. milia in uno die.

[1] E. omits the next paragraph.
[2] From Lebar Brecc, p. 27 b.
[3] alleth, E.
[4] drúid, R.; drui, E.
[5] indrúag, R.; indruad, E.
[6] orcain, E.

you therein." That counsel was settled then by them, that is, by the men of Ireland around Loegaire.

Then came to Patrick the three children who were biding in hostageship with Loegaire. They weep to Patrick. Patrick asks, "What is the matter?" "A prince's troth," say they, "hath been broken in the chief city of the Gael, namely, the house that is a-building as well for [?] the wizard as thy servant, thus is it a-building, half thereof fresh and half dry, the fresh half for the wizard and the dry for thy servant." Patrick puts his finger on the right cheek of each of the children, and he puts a tear from the cheek of each child on his left palm, and he breathes under them (the tears) and made three gems thereof. The children swallowed the gems. "Three special gems," saith Patrick, "will be born from them," to wit, Colomb Cille and Comgall and Finnia.

Thereafter the house was built, one side of it dry, the other fresh. Then the wizard was sent into the fresh side, with Patrick's chasuble around him. Then Benen was sent into the dry side with the wizard's tunic around him. So the house was closed around them, and a bar was put . . . . on it outside, before the host, and fire is set therein. A mighty marvel came to pass there through Patrick's prayer. The fresh half of the house was burnt and the wizard in the midst of the chasuble, and (the fire) destroyed not the chasuble in the least. The dry half, however, wherein Benen was biding, was not burnt, and Benen was saved in the midst of the wizard's tunic, and the tunic was burnt so that (the fire) made ashes thereof.

The King was much enraged with Patrick for killing his wizard. He arose and wished to kill him at once, but, through Patrick's intercession, God permitted him not. Thereafter God's anger fell on the impious people, so that a great multitude of them perished, to wit, twelve thousand in one day.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8 a. 1.

Adub*air*t im*morro* Pat*raic* f*ri* Loeg*air*i, "Manichreitisiu[1] indossa atbéla colúath, ardoraga forg Dé fo*r*tmullach." Otchual*a* inri inna briathra sin, rongab úam*un* mór. Téit iarsin inrí itech nimacallma f*ri*amuint*ir*. "Isferr damsa," orsé, "creitem do Día ol dáas inní báight*er* rim mo marb*ad*." Isiarsin t*ra* roslecht Loig*air*e do Pat*raic* *ocus* dorocreiti[2] do Día [in l. margin: sed non púro corde credidit], *ocus* rocreitset ilmili isindláu sin. Isand sin roráide Pat*raic* f*ri* Loig*air*i, "úair rocreitisiu do Día *ocus* doratais moreirsi, dobé*r*thar fot sæg*ui*l duit itrígiu: illóg, im*morro*, hanumal*d*oti[3] anallana ní bía ríg na rígdamna huait cobráth *acht* Lug*aid* m*ac* Loigairi." Cúair rogaid am*áthair* Pat*raic* naromall*achad* ingein bái inabroind. Is*ed* at*rubair*t Patr*aic*, "cotí f*ri*m ni maill*echub*." Rogab di*no* Lug*aid* rígi cotoracht cohAch*ad* Forchai. Isandsin adrub*air*t, "Nách sí sút (cell) in cleir*ig* ro roráidi na biad rí ná rígdamhna oLoeg*air*i?" I[si]arsin tairlaicid fo*r*chai tentide di[na] nemdaib inachend, *con*idhromarb: *con*id desin [atta] Ach*ad* Forchai.[4]

Egerton 93, fo. 4 a. 1.

Biat na ferta conicci so indiu.

Ité so ferta atchú[a]idetar srúithe hEir*enn* *ocus* dosratsat foglo[ṡ]nathi naisnesen. Atchuaid, cet*us*, ferta Pát*raic* *ocus* rosc*um*mai Collum cille m*acc* Fe*dlimthe*: Ultan m*acc* ói Choncobair, Adhamnan óa Tinni, hEleran ind ecnai, Cíaran Beal*aigh* Dúin, Eps*cop* Ermedach ó Cloch*ur*, Colman Uamach, Crumthir Collait ó Dr*u*im Róilgech.

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[1] creitisiu, E.; chreitidsidi, R.
[2] rocreitt, E.
[3] tanahumolloti, E.
[4] R. omits the next four paragraphs.

Patrick, however, said to Loegaire; "Unless thou believest[1] now, thou shalt die quickly, for God's anger will come on thy head." When the king heard those words great fear seized him. Then the king went into the assembly-house to his people. "For me," saith he, belief in God is better than what is threatened to me, (namely), that I shall be killed." So then Loegaire knelt to Patrick and believed in God, but he did not believe with a pure heart; and on that day many thousands believed. Then Patrick said, "Since thou hast believed in God, and done my will, length of age will be given to thee in thy kingdom: in reward, however, of thy disobedience some time ago, there will not be king or crown-prince of thee save Lugaid son of Loegaire," because his mother besought Patrick not to curse the child that was lying in her womb. Patrick said this: "Till he opposes me I will not curse him." Then Lugaid took the realm and went to Achad Forchai. Then he said: "Is not yon the church of the cleric who declared that there would be neither king nor crown-prince from Loegaire?" After that a fiery bolt was hurled from the skies against him and killed him, wherefore [the place is called] Achad Forchai, the field of the thunderbolt.

Let the miracles be as far as this to-day.

These are the miracles which the elders of Ireland declared, and connected with[2] a thread of narration. Colomb Cille, son of Fedlimid, first declared Patrick's miracles and composed them. (Then) Ultan son of Conchobar's descendant, Adamnan, grandson of Tinne, Eleran of the wisdom, Ciaran of Belach Duin, bishop Ermedach of Clochar, Colman Uamach, presbyter Collait of Druim Roilgech.

[1] Lit. he believes.

[2] Lit. put under.

Egerton 93, fo. 4 a. 1.

Fer fírian, *tra*, in ferso, congláine aicnid am*al* huasalathrachu. Fír-ailithir am*al* Abraam. Cendais, dilgadhach oc*ri*diu am*al* Moysi. Salmcetl*aid* molthaidi am*al* D*abi*d. Audsud necnai am*al* Solmhoin. Lestar togai fri fúacra f*ír*indi am*al* Pól aps*tal*. Fer lán dirath *ocus* dieol*us* in Sp*irta* Naomh [4 a. 2] am*al* Ioh*an* m*ac*can. Lugbort cáin co clannaib súalach. Gesca fíni cotoirthigi. Teinid toidhlech congrís goirthe *ocus* tessaighti na m*ac* mbethad im andud *ocus* im elscud déairci. Leo treanert *ocus* cumachtai. Colum archennsai *ocus* diuiti. Nathir ar threbaire *ocus* túacli f*ri*maith. Cendais, umul, ailgén f*ri* m*a*cu betha. Fordorchaidi écennais f*or* m*a*cu bais. Mog saothair *ocus* fógnama do *Christ*. Rii arórdan *ocus* chumachtu f*ri* cumrech *ocus* tuaslucad, f*ri* sóirad *ocus* dóirad, f*ri* marb*a*d *ocus* bethugud.

Appropinquante autem hora obitus sui, sacrificium[1] ab episcopo Tassach sumpsit, quod uiaticum vitae aeternae[2] ex consilio Victoris acceperat. Et dé[i]nceps, post mortuós suscitatós, post multum populum ad Deum conuersum, et post episcopos et perspýteros (*sic*) in eclesis órdinatós et tóto ordine eclésiastico [rite disposito, et] conuersa tóta Scotia ad fidem Christi, anno aetatis suae cxxii.[3] obdormiuit in uitam aeternam, et reliqua.

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[1] Here in the margin is the compendium for *post*.

[2] vitea æternéa, E.

[3] oxíí, E. But as Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 173, has "cxxii." p. 128 "120," (leg. 122 ?), the scribe of the Egerton MS. has probably dropped one x.

A just man, then, (was) this man, with purity of nature like the patriarchs. A true pilgrim, like Abraham. Gentle, forgiving of heart, like Moses. A praiseworthy psalmist, like David. A shrine (?) of wisdom, like Solomon. A vessel of election for proclaiming truth, like Paul the Apostle. A man full of the grace and of the knowledge of the Holy Ghost, like John the child. A fair garden with plants of virtues. A branch of a vine with fruitfulness. A bright fire with fervor of heating and warming the sons of Life, as to kindling and inflaming charity. A lion through strength and power. A dove for gentleness and simplicity. A serpent for prudence and cunning as to good. Gentle, humble, mild towards sons of Life. Gloomy, ungentle as to sons of Death. A laborious and serviceable slave to Christ. A king for dignity and power, for binding and loosing, for freeing and enslaving, for killing and quickening.

But the day of his death drew nigh, so he took the communion from Bishop Tassach, which provision for the journey to life eternal he had received by Victor's advice. And then, after having raised the dead, after having converted much people unto God and ordained bishops and priests in the churches, the whole ecclesiastical order being duly disposed, and the whole of Ireland converted to the faith of Christ, in the hundred and twenty-second year of his age he fell asleep into life eternal, and so forth.

[Pars altera.]

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8 a. 1.

"Euntés ergo nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, docentes eos obseruare omnia quæcumque mandaví vóbis, et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diébus usque ad consummátionem sæculi."

[8 a. 2.] Issu (*sic*) Cr*ist* roraidi inna bríatr*a*so, iar cloud báiss in[1] eseirgiu, do *gre*sacht a apst*al ocus* a deiscipul do *for*cetal cenel naniresech in domain *ocus* diambaitsid innanmaim in Ath*ar ocus* in M*aic ocus* in Spi*rto* Nóib, *con*eb*air*t, "Euntes." Matha, im*morro*, ishé *con*dascríb na briathra cétna *for* slicht nÍsu, dicens, "Euntes ergo": habentur et hacc ubi dicit "data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra," inde sequitur, "Euntes ergo nunc," id est, dum mea potestas in omni terra et non in Iudea tantum inuenitur. Quod dúdum pro[h]ibui dicendo, "In uiam gentium ne abieritis," nunc uobis concedo et praecipio, "Ite, docete."

Aptus ordo[1] doctrina ante bautismum. Non enim potest fieri ut corpus babtismi recipiat sacramentum nisi ante[quam] anima fidei suscepit ueritatem. Omnes gentes, [id est] sine acceptione[2] personárum. Baubtizantes eos, id est homines gentium. In nomine Patris et Fili et Spiritus Sancti. In [n]omine dicit, non in nominibus. Hic Unitas atque Trinitas Personarum ostentitur. Singularitas enim nominis Unitatem loquitur, appellationum uero diuersitas Trinitatem desi[g]nat. "Docentes eos obseruare omnia quaecumque mandaui uobis." Ordo praecipuus, iu[s]sit aposto-

Sic E. *ocus*, R.

[2] exceptione, Colgan.

The Second Part.

"*Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*"

Jesus Christ spake these words after overcoming death in resurrection, to hearten his apostles and his disciples to teach the faithful folk of the world, and to baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, so that he said: "Go ye," etc. Matthew, however, he it is that wrote the same words, in the person of Jesus[1], saying: "Go ye therefore." These, too, are implied where he says, "All power hath been given to me in heaven and in earth." Then follows: "Go ye therefore now," that is, since my power is found in every land and not in Judæa only. That which I long ago forbade, saying: "Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles," now I grant unto you and enjoin you: "Go ye, teach."

Meet is the order, teaching before baptism. For it cannot be that the body should receive the sacrament of baptism before the soul receives the verity of faith. "All nations," that is, without acceptance of persons. "Baptizing them," that is, men of the Gentiles. "In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." "In the name," he saith, not "in the names." Here is set forth the Unity and Trinity of Persons. For the singularity of "name" expresses the Unity. But the diversity of appellations indicates the Trinity. Teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. An especial order: he directed the apostles first, to teach all

[1] in Christi persona, Colgan. The Irish is, literally, "in Jesu's track."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8 a. 2–8 b. 1.

los[1] vt primum docerent uniuersas gentes, deinde intingerent fidei sacrámento; et pro fide ac babtismo[2] quae[3] essent obseruanda præciperent. Et ne púternus leuia esse quæ iussa[4] sunt, et pauca, addidit: Omnia quæcumque mandaui uóbis ut [qui] crediderint[5] et qui in Trinitate fuerint babtizati, omnia faciant quæ praece[8. b. 1]-pta sunt. "Et ecce ego uobis[cum] sum omnibus [diebus] usque ad consummationem sæculi," acsi diceret "hæc est merces uestra," et quasi dixiset "nolite timer[e] ire in mundum[6] et persecutionibus et tribulationibus uexari in eo. Dum presens erit vob*is* auxilium meum usque ad finem uitae[7] uestre in signiss et uirtutibus faciendis." Rocomailset abs*tail* 7rl.

Othanicc Pat*raic* *con*acobluch dochum nErenn do p*ro*cept[8] doGóidel*aib*, *ocus* aluid do Temr*aig*, f*or*accaib Lomman indInb*iur* Boínne icoimét alungai f*ri* .xl. oidchi in chorgais. F*or*orc*on*ggart Pa*traic* fair aethar do imrom innagid naBóinde[9] *con*gab*ad* baili hitá Ath Truim indiu. Dún ind inb*aid*si[n] Feidlimthe m*eic* Loig*airi* m*acc* Neill .i. Áth Truim. Condech*aid* isin maittin F*or*tchernd m*ac* Feidlimthi cofuair Loman *ocus* asoscela arabél*aib*. Ingnad lais inforcetal rochúalai. Rocreit *ocus* robaitsid o Lomán, *ocus* robaí Fortchernn icoitsecht f*ri*sin forcet*al* cotoluid amath*air* f*or*aiarair. Dorighni failti f*ri*sna cleirchiu arba di Bretnaib di .i. Scoth ing*en* ríg Bretan [sí]. Tanic Feidilmthi féin do accall*aim* Lom*áin*, *ocus* roc*r*eit *ocus* roedbairt Áth Truim do Dia *ocus* do Pa*traic* *ocus* do Lomán *ocus* do F*or*tcernn.

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[1] Ordo praecipi*us* iusit apostolos, R. For this Colgan has: Ordo praecipitur visitationis Apostolorum.

[2] post fidem et baptisma, E.

[3] babtisma qui, R.

[4] uisa, R.; iusa, E.

[5] Sic E.; R. -unt.

[6] MS. -i.

[7] Sic, E.; R. uiti.

[8] praicept, E.

[9] nobóinne, R.; nabóindi, E.

nations, and then to baptize them with the sacrament of faith, and, in favour of faith and baptism, to enjoin all things that were to be heeded. And lest we should think that the things ordered were few and trifling, he added: "All that I have commanded to you," so that they who have believed and been baptized in the Trinity may do all that hath been enjoined. "And lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world," as if he would say "This is your reward," and as if he had said, "Fear not to go into the world and to be harassed with tribulations, for my help will be present to you therein, even to the end of life, in doing signs and miracles." The apostles fulfilled (this), and so forth.

When Patrick came with his vessels to Ireland, to preach to the Gael, and when he went to Tara, he left Lomman in the estuary of the Boyne, keeping his ship for the forty nights of the Lent. Patrick ordered him to row his vessel against the Boyne till he should get to the place wherein Áth Truimm stands to-day. Áth Truimm was at that time the stronghold of Feidlimid son of Loegaire, son of Niall. In the morning Fortchern son of Feidlimid went and found Lomman with his gospel before him. A marvel to him (Fortchern) was the doctrine which he heard. He believed, and was baptized by Lomman, and Fortchern was listening to the doctrine until his mother came a-seeking him. She made welcome to the clerics, for of the Britons was she, namely, Scoth daughter of the king of Britons, she. Fedilmthe himself came to have speech of Lomman, and he believed, and he offered Áth Truimm to God, and to Patrick, and to Lomman, and to Fortchern.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8 b. 1.

Dochoid Pat*raic* féin *ocus* rofoth*aig* Ath Truim .xxu. an*nis* ría fothug*ud* Airdd Machae.[1] Do Bretnaib im*morro*, bunad Lom*áin* [in marg. filius Gollit] derfiur do Pat*raic* a math*air*. IT é im*morro*, brathir Lom*áin* .i. epsc*op* Munis hi Fo*r*cnidi [la Cui[r]cceniu .i. hi tuaisciurt Midi [2]] f*r*isind Eithne andess, Broccaid indImliuch Ech la *Con*achta .i. iCíarraigi.[3] Brocán imBrechmaig la hú Dothrain, Mogenócc hi Cill Dumai Gluind indessciurt Breg. INderbchlann, im*morro*, [8. b. 2] is diless doPat*raic* ochomfuilidecht[4] *ocus* ó iris *ocus* o bathis *ocus* o fo*r*citul; *ocus* inna huli atcotaisiut do thalmain *ocus* do ecalsib roedbairset doPat*raic* in sempiternum.

Post aliquantum autem tempus, órochomaiccsigest*ar* eitsecht Lom*áin*, roescomlai *ocus* a dalta [.i, Fortcernn] do accall*aim* abrathar .i. Brocàdo *ocus* roaithni a ecl*ais* doPat*raic* *ocus* doFo*r*tce*r*n; *acht* rof*r*ithbruid Fo*r*tchernn coroairaimed orba a athar, *ocus* ishesidi roerb do Dia *ocus* doPat*raic*. Acht atrub*air*t Lom*án* "noconairaimfe m[o]b*ennacht*ainsi maine airaime abdaine moccailse." Aroirachair, im*morro*, Fo*r*tche*r*n iarnetsecht Lom*áin* innabdaine ot*r*íblaithib coriacht co Áth Truim *ocus* dorat iarsin aecl*ais* Cathlaido pe*r*igrino. Hæ sunt oblationes Fedelmedo filíí Loegairi sancto Patricio et Lomano et Fo*r*tcherndo .i. Áth Truim hi c*r*íchaib Loegairi Breg. Imgæ ierich*aib* Loeg*ai*ri iMidi. Isaml*aid* roedbarthe innahuli edbartaso doPat*raic* *ocus* doLomán *ocus* doFortch*ern*. Pro omnibus regibus maioribus et minoribus usque in diem iudicíí.

Prima [autem] feria uenit Patricius ad Taltenam, baili iraba intoínach rigdai, coCoirpri m*ac* Neill. Is eissidi roocobair orcain Pat*raic* *ocus* ro[ṡ]roiglest*ar*

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[1] Here R. and E. omit a sentence = Colgan's ibique reliquit Lomanum discipulum suum.

[2] Sic E.

[3] imliuch aech. la ciarraigi choundacht, E.

[4] comsuilidecht, R.E.

Patrick himself went and founded Áth Truimm, twenty-five years before the founding of Armagh ; [and there he left his disciple Lommán]. Of the Britons, moreover, was the race of Lommán son of Gollit, and his mother was own sister to Patrick. These are Lommán's brothers, namely, Bishop Munis in Forcnide, at Cuircne, in the north of Meath, to the south of the Eithne; Broccaid in Immliuch Ech, in Connaught, to wit, in Ciarraige ; Broccan in Brechmag in Húi Dothrain; Mogenoc in Cell Dumai Gluinn in the southern part of Breg. Now (these are) the progeny that belongs to Patrick by consanguinity and by faith and by baptism and by doctrine; and all that they obtained of land and of churches they offered to Patrick for ever.

Now after some time, when Lommán's death drew nigh, he went with his foster-son Fortchern to have speech of his brother Broccaid, and bequeathed his church to Patrick and to Fortchern. But Fortchern refused to receive his father's inheritance, and he entrusted it to God and to Patrick. But Lommán said: "Thou shalt not receive my blessing unless thou receivest the abbacy of my church." So Fortchern after Lommán's death assumed (?) the abbacy for three days till he reached Áth Truimm, and afterwards gave his church to Cathlaid the Pilgrim. These are the offerings of Fedelmid son of Loegaire, to S. Patrick and Lommán and Fortchern, namely, Áth Truimm in Loegaire's territories in Bregia, Imgæ in Loegaire's territories in Meath. Thus were all these offerings offered, to Patrick and to Lommán and to Fortchern; (both for Fedilmid himself and) for all kings, major and minor, even to Doomsday.

Now on the first holiday came Patrick to Talten, the place in which was the royal assembly, to Coirpre son of Niall. He it is that desired to slay Patrick, and

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 8 b. 2.

muintir Patraic isruth Séili, qua propter appellauat illum [Patricius] inimicum Dei et dixit ei, "Fogníff dosíl do sílaib do bráthar ocus nocobía rí dotsil cobráth." *Ocus* nocobiat brattána isindabaindsin tría mall*achtain* Pat*raic*.

Dodeoch*aid* Pat*raic* íarsin co*Con*all *macc* Neill. Isand robái asosad, dú ita Domnach Pat*raic* indiu, *ocus* aroet hé cofailti moír, *ocus* rombaitsi Pat*raic* *ocus* rosonairtnig arígsuide in eternum. Oc*us* ad*rubairt* Pat*raic* f*ris*, "Fognífe síl do brath*ar* dotshil [9. a. 1] tre bithu *ocus* technaige coderna trocairi domorbaib imdeg*aid* *ocus* domeic *ocus* meic domac corop dligthidi suthain domm*ac*aibse creitmechaib." Isandsin rotomais *Con*all ecl*ais* do Día *ocus* doPat*raic* pedibus eius .lx. pedum, et dixit Patricius, "Sicip he dígbas innecl*ais*si dotsíl nocoba fotta a flaithi*us* *ocus* niba sonairt." Intan dororaind ráith nairthir inso.

Dororaind[1] Pat*raic* Ráith nAirthir abachaill duantith[2] (*sic*)
timarnæ natuasa (*sic*) céne marusbith.
Bes nded[3] násad innatúad hit*ir* ingnád *ocus* gnád
nad mbíad *acht* oenguine for a fuot[4] cobrath.

Quod impletum est.

Dodeochat*ar* moch día dom*naig* iRáith nAirth*ir*. Cinæd *ocus* Dub-daleithi, dá *macc* C*er*baill m*eic* Maili-Odræ m*eicc* Oeda Sláne, *con*accat*ar* in lóech inaligu .i. m*ac* Bressail. Mescaid indalanai claideb nand *ocus* tachait*ir* iar*om*. Luid indalanai tar Taltin súas innandírmmaim. Luid alailiu[5] inDomnach Pa*traic*.

Isannsin [dano] be*n*nachais blæ óinaig Tailtin[6] co*n*na ber*thar* marb di cobrath. Boi immairccc and illaitib

[1] Doraind, E.
[2] buan tith, E.
[3] Besned, E.
[4] forafóut, E.
[5] alaile, E.
[6] tailten, E.

who scourged Patrick's household into the river Seile. Wherefore Patrick used to call him "God's foe," and he said to him: "Thy seed shall serve thy brothers' descendants; and of thy seed there shall never be a king;" and there will never be salmon in that river, owing to Patrick's curse.

Thereafter Patrick went to Conall son of Niall. There was his station, in the place wherein stands Domnach Pátraic to-day. And Conall received him with great joy, and Patrick baptized him and confirmed his throne *in æternum*. And Patrick said to him; "Thy brother's seed shall serve thy seed for ever, and . . . . show mercy to my heirs after me, thou and thy sons and thy sons' sons, so that it may be lawful (and) lasting to my faithful children." Then did Conall measure out a church for God and for Patrick with sixty feet of his feet. And Patrick said: "Whosoever of thy offspring shall take from this church, his reign will not be long and will not be firm." When he measured Rath Airthir, . . . this:

> Patrick measured Rath Airthir with (?) his crozier
> . . .
> . . .
> That there would be only one slaughter throughout it for ever.

Which thing was fulfilled.

Early on Sunday they went into Raith Airthir. Cinaed and Dub-dá-leithe, two sons of Cerball, son of Moel-Odrae, son of Aed Slane, saw the hero lying down, to wit, the son of Bressal. One of the two plunges a sword into him, and then they fled. One of the two went over Talten up in their band. The other went into Domnach Pátraic.

Then he (Patrick) blessed the green of the Assembly at Talten, so that no corpse will ever be carried from it.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 9. a. 1.

Donnchodo, teor[a] buidne im Coibdenach m*acc* Fidgaili, *ocus* Coibdenach asanucht oc imb*ert* ingæ lia sairsi occo. Arcesi scis aláma diud lái *ocus* asb*ert* "cumang nad chumcabad brothar nabrothraigi dia nguin nicæmnacair ingæ."

Paschæ quoque clausula finita prima feria exiit ad Vadum duarum Furcarum,[1] *ocus* fo*r*othaig ecl*ais* indusin *ocus* fo*r*acaib na t*ri* braitriu innti *con*asiair .i. Chathaceus *ocus* Cathur*us* *ocus* Catneuss *ocus* Catnea intsiur. Issidi[2] nobligh ed naheillti.

Dochóid iar sin coDruim Corcortri *ocus* [9. a. 2] rofothaig ecl*ais* hi suidiu, *ocus* foracaib indi[3] Dermait m*acc* Restitutia [*sic*].

Oc dul do Pat*raic* sair do Temraig [co Loegaire, uair rogniset cairdes,[4]] o Domnach Pa*traic*, dob*ert* bend*acht* fo*r* *Con*all m*acc* Neill. O doluid ass dofoid[5] a lecc inna degaid isintailich sair .i. dú itá[6] inchross oc*on*muiliund osinduseiu, dicens:

Dosoí conói it*er*um
baathnuud frignath
adrodad friless na túad
isin port cobráth.

Ocus foracaib Pat*raic* fairend dia muintir occalicc inDomnach Pa*traic*, *ocus* is*ed* adub*airt*: "Cibbe nodasaraigfed ropad[7] timdibe sæguil *ocus* flaithiusa do. Rodosáraig Cinæ̃d m*acc* Irgal*aig* rí Temrach .i. rogeguin fer forachomairchi, *ocus* doreprendset t*ri* bainne fola eissi focetóir *ocus* ní roansat do silid coro edbart Cinæ̃d m*acc* *Con*galaig tri senclcithi *cona* ferann do-Pa*traic* .i. Uachtar Nessa *ocus* Ói Midgnai *ocus* Tír m*eicc* Conaigg ó chill sair, *ocus* ni ro an in t*res*s bainde

[1] farcarvm, R.; forcarum, E.
[2] isiedi, E.
[3] inti, E.
[4] Sic E.
[5] dufaid, E.
[6] Here Eg. 93 has lost a leaf.
[7] In marg. .i. alei [last three letters now cut off].

There was a conflict there in the days of Donnchad, three thousand with Coibdenach son of Fidgaile, and Coibdenach amidst (?) them, plying the spear with his . . . At the end of the day he complains of the weariness of his hand, and said: "A power that could not be able . . . . the spear could not slay them."

The octave of Easter being ended [1] *prima feria*, he went to Áth-dá-laarg, (the Ford of Two Forks,) and founded a church in that place, and left therein the three brothers with their sister, namely, Cathaccus and Cathurus and Catneus, and Catnea the sister. She it is that used to milk the hinds.

Then he went to Druim Corcortri and founded a church therein, and left in it Diarmait son of Restitutus.

As Patrick was going east from Domnach Pátraic to Tara unto Loegaire—for they had made friendship,—he gave a blessing to Conall son of Niall. When he went thence his flagstone [2] came after him eastwards to the hill, wherein stands the cross by the mill over the water,

Dosoí conói [3] again
There was a renewal usually
he gave for the benefit of the tribes
In the place for ever.

And Patrick left a number of his household at his flagstone in Domnach Pátraic, and this he said: "Whosoever should outrage it, his life and his realm should be cut off." Cinaed, son of Irgalach, king of Tara, outraged it, that is to say, he slew a man under its safeguard; and three drops of blood trickled out of it at once, and ceased not flowing till Cinaed son of Congalach offered to Patrick three *sencléthi* with their land,[4] namely Uachtar Nessa and Oi Midgnai and Tír maic

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[1] Per *clausam Paschae* intelligit octavam Paschae, Dominicâ in Albis finitam, Colg., *Tr. Th.*, p. 173.

[2] *i.e.*, his portable altar, which he had left as a gift to the church.

[3] This quatrain is nearly unintelligible.

[4] "tres villas cum pertinentibus praediis et possessionibus," Colg., p. 130.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 9 a. 2. béos cotoracht féin foachroiss .i. coro marb Flaithb*er*tach m*ac* Loingsig Cinǽd m*acc* Irgal*aig* icath D*r*oma Corcá*n*.

Dochoid Pat*ricc* iarsin doTemr*aig* coLoeg*ai*ri, uáir dognisct cairdes et*urr*u *con*nárooircthi Pat*raic* inaflaithi*us*. Sed non potuit credere, dicens: "Niall," olsé, "math*air*si, annocluined insæbfáitsine tuidecht nacreitme, ro athne dam ná rochreitind *acht* coromadnaicthi imullach Tem*ra*ch am*ail* firu cathacha," uaír bá bes lasna geinti anadnacal fonarmaib, facie ad faciem usque ad diem iudicí.

Ambaí Pat*ricc* for*s*et inocásenám Romæ oc tuidecht fo. 9 b. 1. úadi, ar do chóid fot*ri* doRoim iarmbith [9. b. 1] ic foglaim isintír, cocomarnic fri seisiur m*ac* cle*rech*, *ocus* se gillai léu, *ocus* allibair ina c*r*iss dollot*ar* díanailit*hri*. "Isdinnim dodech*as* and," olPat*raic*. "Dénid téig duib don crocundsa fil im coimit*echt*sa: ishé robai fomsuidiusa *ocus* fomtæb inErind .xxii. annis *ocus* occoifriund." "*Ceist*, *ocus* intan scermait, coich uáin hí?" "Ni *anse*," olPat*raic*, "n*ach* *con*gbail *con*gaibid tabraid far téig i talmain, *ocus* dú dadaslugai isisinport bíeid," quod impletum est. Is hísin in Breifnech Pat*raic* iCluain Ernainn. Iscumtab*air*t cia crocann in rúon nó incethra. Immdernad iar*om* di ór *ocus* findruine.

Ishe im*morro* in sesiur. Cruimthir Lugach iCill Airthir. Cruimt*hir* Columb iCluain Ernáin, *ocus* Meldan Cluano Crema, *ocus* Lug*aid* m*acc* Eirc iF*or*druim, *ocus* Cruimtir Cassan inDomnach Mór Maigi Echnach: cóicc nóib insin do muintir Pat*ricc* inDelbna Assail,

Conaing from the church eastward. And the third drop stayed not till he himself came under his cross, that is, till Flaithbertach, son of Loingsech, slew Cinaed, son of Irgalach, in the battle of Druim Corcain.

Thereafter Patrick went to Tara, to Loegaire: for they had made an agreement between them that Patrick should not be slain during his reign. But Loegaire was unable to believe, saying, "Niall," saith he, "my father, when he heard the false prophecy, the coming of the Faith, enjoined us not to believe, but that I should be buried in the topmost part of Tara, like warlike men;" for it was the custom of the heathen to be buried in their armour, face to face, even to the day of judgment.

When Patrick was on the way journeying to Rome (or) coming from it—for he went thrice to Rome after having been a-learning in the land,—he met with six young clerics and six gillies with them, and their books in their girdles. They were going on their pilgrimage. "Weakly has one gone there," saith Patrick. "Make for you a wallet of this hide which is along with me. This hath been under my seat and under my side in Ireland for twenty years, and at mass." "Question" (say they), "and when we shall separate, to which of us will it belong?" "Not hard to say," saith Patrick: "at every (ecclesiastical) dwelling wherein ye set up, put your wallet into the earth, and the stead which swallows it up, in that place shall it abide." Which thing was fulfilled. This is the *Breifnech Pátraic* in Cluain Ernainn. It is doubtful what hide (it was), whether a seal's or a cow's. It was then adorned with gold and white bronze.

Now these are the six: Presbyter Lugach in Cell Airthir, Presbyter Colomb in Cluain Ernain, and Meldan of Cluain Crema, and Lugaid, son of Erc in Fordruim, and Presbyter Cassan in Domnach Mór Maige Echnach. Five saints (were) those of Patrick's household in Delbna

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 9 b. 1.

ocus cóic míassa do Pat*raic* léu. In scised Se*n*-Ciaran Saigri. Baí im*morro* Ciaran ocaiarfaigid do Pat*raic* caít iggebad.

"Saig Uar," arPa*traic*,[1]
"dena cathraig forabrú:
tricha bliadan, buadach bann,
co*n*ricfam and *ocus* tú.".

Ambai Pat*raic* oc batis Lugne, dú itá Domnach Mor Maigi Echnach, asb*ert* *fri* Cassan bed nann a ciseirgi, *ocus* nabad mor a congb*ail* ital*main* *ocus* nibid imda noregad nech co*n*dosnaid chridi oathaisib, *ocus* ismór a áine inChassan sin hi fertaib.

Alluid Pat*raic* inacharp*u*t asin tailaig donárraid alaili bandscal and *ocus* am*ac* le. "ArDía, be*n*dach mo m*acc* dam, a cleir*ig*: itá a ath*air* aṅgala*r*. Dobir Pat*raic* airde na cruichi taragiun, *ocus* aithnid occ Casan dolegund. Dicitur síc quod psalm[9. b. 2]-os per .xii. dies légit. Issé andsin Lonan m*acc* Senaig fil hi Caill hUallech. Rigell, im*morro*, amath*air*. Fo*r*dosrala muint*ir* Cluana m*acc* Nóis. Corocoímchloiset iar*om* fri munt*ir* Cluana Iraird ar chill Lothair imBregaib *ocus* ar Chluain Alad Deirg tiar.

Do-Lúe Croibigi *ocus* Lug*aid* m*acc* Oeng*us*a m*eic* Nat-fraich, ishe[2] fil hinDruim Inasclaind hinDelbhna do muint*ir* Pat*raic*.

Fir oirthir Midi ros bathess Pat*raic* oc toig Laisrend indess itá athipræ indor*us* inna cilli. Facaib dís

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[1] The words *arPatraic* are a gloss, and not part of the line.

[2] Read ithé.

Assail, and five patens of Patrick's had they. The sixth was Old Ciaran of Saigir. Howbeit Ciaran kept asking Patrick where he should settle. Saith Patrick:

"Seek the Uar,
Build a monastery on its brink.
In thirty years—victorious deed—
We shall meet there, (I) and thou."

When Patrick was baptizing the Lugni at the stead where stands Domnach Mór Maige Echnach, he said to Cassan that his resurrection would take place therein, and that his establishment on earth would not be great. And [yet] many will not go with sigh of heart from his relics, and great is the splendour of that Cassan in miracles.

When Patrick went in his chariot from the hill he overtook a certain woman there, (having) her son with her. "For God's sake," [saith she,] "bless my son for me, O cleric: his father is ill." Patrick puts the sign of the cross over his mouth, and delivers him to Cassan to (learn to) read. It is said that he read the psalms in twelve days. This is the Lonan, son of Senach, who is in Caill Uallech, Rígell is his mother. The community of Clonmacnois obtained it (Caill Uallech), and afterwards exchanged it with the community of Clonard for Cell Lothair[1] in Brega and for Cluain Alad Deirg in the west.

Do-Lue of Croibech[2] and Lugaid son of Oengus, son of Natfraech, it is they who, of Patrick's household, are in Druim Inesclaind in Delbna.

The men of the east of Meath, Patrick baptized them at Tech Laisrenn in the south. His well is in front of the church. He left two of his people therein, namely,

[1] Kill-Ochuir, Colg. 131.
[2] Da-luanus de Croebheach, Colg. 131.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 9, b. 2. dia muint*ir* ann .i. Bice *ocus* Lug*aid*, *ocus* ata ferta Bice f*ri* tip*rait* antúaid.

Molúe ailithir di Bretnaib domuint*ir* Pat*raic* indImliuch Sescainn fri tech Laisrend indes fo*r* ur Locha Ainninne. Fordosrola muint*ir* Clúana m*ac* Nóis.

Temair Singite la Firu Assail. And robaitsi Pat*raic* Firu Asail. INtslig*e* it*er* Raith Suibne *ocus* Cluain Fota Ainmirech ata fert ann .i. rube sciad *ocus* droigen *ocus* cróib. Intí let*ras* ní and ní chuirfi cor búada de. Domnach aainm.

Folam*us*tar t*ra* Pat*raic* *congbail* ocÁth Maigne ind Asal. F*ri*stuidch*id* f*ri*s ann fer écendais .i. Ferg*us* brath*air* doBrenainn m*acc* Echach Muinmedoin. Is airi ni hairdeircc in Ferg*us*[sa] quia in uita patris defunctus[1] est. Bráthair tra inBrenaind sin, is hé f*r*istudch*aid* do Pa*traic*. Doforn de Pa*traic* crois isindlicc *con*abachaill, *ocus* atá and beos dísert f*or* leic Pat*raic*, *ocus* roben incloich amal bid cre mæth. "Manibatainmnet," ol Pat*raic*, "nut scáilfeth nert cuma*ch*ta Dé am*al* roscail in bachall in cloich." Nífil tra scoth ná comarpa úad don t*rist* dob*ert* Pa*traic* fair. "Ar Dia, a Pa*traic*," ol a seitich, "nim tairle [10. a. 1] do mall*acht*." "Nítaidlibe," ol Pa*traic*, "*ocus* ní aidlibe in gein fil it brú. Araidi ni fil comarpa úad."

Maigen inna[f]arrad andess laPat*raic* fer muint*eri* do *con*aggaib m*acc* Dicuill[2] la Col*omb* cilli indíu trefoill.

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[1] MS. -is.

[2] m. Dicivll, R; Macdichoill, Colg. 131.

[a virgin] Bice and Lugaid, and Bice's tomb stands to the north of the well.

Molue, a pilgrim of the Britons, and one of Patrick's household, (was) in (the church called) Immliuch Sescainn to the south of Tech Laisrenn on the shore of Loch Aininne. The community of Clonmacnois (afterwards) obtained it.

At Temair Singite by Tír-Assail, there Patrick baptized the men of Assail. On the road between Raith Suibni and Cluain Fota Ainmirech is a marvel, namely, a brake of hawthorn and thorns and branches. He that tears anything therein will not cast a winning cast of it.[1] Domnach is its name.

Then Patrick founded a cloister at Áth Maigne in Asal. A merciless man resisted him there, namely, Fergus, brother of Brenainn, son of Echaid Muinmedon. This Fergus is not renowned because he died during his father's lifetime. His brother, then, was that Brenainn. It is he that resisted Patrick. Patrick marked out with his crozier a cross in the flagstone, and cut the stone as if it were soft clay. "If I were not patient with thee," saith Patrick, "the might of God's power would cleave thee as the crozier cleft the stone." Of him (Brenainn) there is neither son nor successor, owing to the curse which Patrick inflicted upon him. "For God's sake, O Patrick," saith his wife, "let not thy malediction fall on me!" "It shall not visit thee," saith Patrick, "and it shall not visit the child that is in thy womb." Howbeit, of him there is no successor.

A place close by it, to the south, belonged to Patrick. One of his household, Dicholl's son, set up there. Colomb Cille[2] hath it now through cunning.

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[1] That is, will fail in all his undertakings.

[2] *i.e.*, one of the Columban monasteries.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 10, a. 1.

Iterum venit oTemr*aig* combaí indUisnech. Folamastar *congbail* ann. Fritúidchetar fris dá m*acc* Néill .i. Fiacha *ocus* Endai. Dixit Patricius eis, isaclanna notrefitis in*congbail* sin dianairsed failti léu. Rodiultsat f*r*iso *ocus* rogabsat aláim. "Mall*acht*," ol Pat*raic*— "For clocha Uisnig." ol Sechnall. "Bíth da*no*," ol Pat*raic*. Nífuil nách maith dogníth*er* dib osin amach: ní dénait*er* cid clocha fot*ra*icthi díb.

Roobbai Fíach*a* bathis [in marg. .i. iCarnd Fiachach] húad intansin. Robathis im*morro* Énda *ocus* roedbair a m*ac* rogenair isindaidq*ui* ríam co*n*aferand .i. cach nomad imbairi Énda fú Erinn. Arroét Pa*traic* in m*ac* *ocus* dorat dia altrum di cetrur dia muint*ir* .i. eps*cop* Domnall, Coimid mac uBairdd, *ocus* Dabonne m*acc* uBairtt *ocus* alaili. "Rombía limsa doníarrad," ol Loeg*airi* m*acc* Neill "fobíth Énda abrathar, ferand baí la Enda oLoeg*ai*ri .i. cóicc sencleithi deuc Enda Artich la *Connachta* f*ri* *Cruachan* antuaid, ithesidi itat doP*atraic* indíu.

Roaltat*ar* iar*om* in m*acc* hi c*r*ich Ennai Artich. Es*cop* Domnall indAilich Moír furóxail muint*ir* Cluana m*acc* Noiss. Es*cop* Coimid hi Clúain Senmáil. Es*cop* Dobonne hi Clúain na Manach, ic foigid díandalta arsamuin obéss saegulla airmitin t*ra* aaidi intan doniced, ag ocac*h* fiur do. Rolil in dóiri sin fo*r*sna cellaib

He [Patrick] came again from Tara till he was in Uisnech. He founded a cloister there. Two sons of Niall, namely, Fiacha and Endae, came against him. Patrick said to them that their children would inhabit that cloister if he should find a welcome with them. They refused him and expelled him. "A curse," saith Patrick — "on the stones of Uisnech," saith Sechnall. "Be it so," saith Patrick. Nothing good is made of them from that time forward. Not even washing-stones are made of them.

Fiacha refused in Carn Fiachach baptism from him (Patrick) at that time. However he baptised Enda, and (Enda) offered his son [Cormac] who had been born the night before, together with his land, that is, every ninth ridge of Enda's throughout Ireland. Patrick received the son, and gave him to be reared unto four of his household, to wit, bishop Domnall, Coimid Maccu-Baird, and DaBonne Maccu-Baird, and another. "He shall have . . . . . saith Loegaire son of Niall, "because of Enda his brother, the land that Enda had from Loegaire," to wit, fifteen *senchleithe*[1] of Enda Artech in Connaught to the north of Cruachan. These are Patrick's to-day.

Then they reared the son in the territory of Enda Artech, that is to say, bishop Domnall in Ailech Mór, which the community of Clonmacnois took away, bishop Coimid in Cluain Senmail, bishop Do-Bonne in Cluain na Manach . . . . their pupil on All Saints' day . . . . veneration for his fosterer (S. Patrick) when he would come, a cow from each man to him.[2] That

[1] villae, Colg. *Tr. Th.* 131.

[2] The text is corrupt. The meaning must be, as Colgan says, 131, that the three bishops "quotannis suo discipulo circa festum omnium sanctorum, dum eos visitaret, consueverunt singuli dare unam vaccam, propter reverentiam praecipuè S. Patris Patricii, qui ipsum eis sustentandum et educandum commisit."

Rawl., B. 512, fo. 10, a. 1.

*con*daforslaic Nuada ab Aird Macha. Cormac Snithene a ainm in meicc. Fothirbi Snitheni ata indor*us* Dermaige Cúli Cóennai. Tír Omna Snitheni ainmnigt*hir*. Isosnad domuint*ir* Pa*tricc* cen atab*airt* cucu.

[10. a. 2] Foracaib Pat*raic* reilgi sruithiu ilLecain Midi *ocus* fairenn día muint*ir* léu imCrumáine.

Atuluid Pa*traic* for muir atír[1] Bretan doascnam Erend, dotæt esc*o*p Muinis inadiaid *ocus* indiaid a braithri .i. esc*o*p Mél Ardach*aid* *ocus* Rióc Insi Bo Finne; *ocus*[2] m*aic*c Conis *ocus* Darerce ger[ma]næ Patricíí, ut dicunt munt*ir* a cell *ocus* noco diultaidi insin. Atát da*no* sethra innanísin .i. Eichi o Chill Glaiss f*ri*hArdach*ad* añdcss iTetbai *ocus* Lallócc oSenliuss la Co*nnach*ta, et putatur quod ipsa est mater filiorum Bairt, comtis secht maic lea *ocus* di ingin.

Doluid Pat*ric*c, di*no*, formuir. Immesói desut isindtracht *ocus* foceirt a chocal de, *ocus* dofuabair ammuir fo*r*licc *ocus* d*u*snarrith. Tancat*ar* hErind iarsin.[3]

Fo*r*ruim Muinis abachaill for cróib. Nos dermanat and inmbachaill *ocus* lotar ass. Cóiniss Muinis a bachaill f*ri* Pat*raic*. Fosrecat aracinn fo*r*cróib. "Bad do bach*all*sa bes limsa," olPat*raic*, "*ocus* bíth indísiu latsa," *ocus* dognith saml*aid*. Oín innammind fil iForgnaidiu insin laMuinis. Erpais Pat*raic* aili deac Erend dó do baithis.

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[1] itír, R.

[2] Some words such as *it hé se* have dropt out.

[3] This paragraph is incomplete and corrupt. It corresponds with Jocelyn's c. 111 and *Tr. Thaum*, p. 132, c. 22.

servitude clave [1] to the churches until Nuada abbot of Armagh [2] released them. Cormac Snithene was the son's name. Snithene's field is before Dermag Cúle Coennai. Tír Omna Snitheni (the land of Snithene's tree) it is named. It is a regret to Patrick's community that it was not given to them.

Patrick left relics of elders in Lecan Midi, and with them a number of his household around Crumaine.

When Patrick went on the sea from the land of Britain to journey to Ireland, bishop Muinis came after him and after his brothers, namely, bishop Mél of Ard-achad and Rióc of Inis-bó-finne; and (they are) sons of Conis and Darerca, Patrick's sister, as the households of their churches say, and that is not to be denied. There are, moreover, sisters of those (bishops), namely, Eiche of Cell Glass to the south of Ard Achad in Teth-bae, and Lallocc of Senlis in Connaught; and it is considered that she (Darerca) is the mother of Bard's sons, so that she has seven sons and two daughters.

Patrick, then, went to sea. (But first) he turns from it on the strand and casts his cowl from him on a stone, and the sea attacked and overtook it (but did not touch the cowl). They came to Ireland afterwards (and found the cowl there).

Muinis set his crozier on a branch. They forget the crozier there and went thence. Muinis lamented to Patrick (the loss of) his crozier. They find it before them on (another) branch. "Let thy crozier be mine," saith Patrick, "and let this be thine," and so it was done. That is one of the relics which Muinis hath in Forgnaide. Patrick entrusted a twelfth of Ireland to him to baptize.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 10, a. 2.

Diambái Pat*raic* hiCruachán Aigli foidis Muinis do Roim uad cocomairli cohapaid Romæ *ocus* dotabairt reilcci dóu. Bói debaid intansin diaclaum fri Pat*raic* indUmall. Is*ed* doluith dú itá Cluain m*aic* Nois indíu. Fogeibsium lem cuassach and *ocus* di laidir a oinboin ass sair. Saidid et*urr*u. Tanic alaili fer ann cucai. "Indat creitmech?" ol inclam. "Ed," ol infer. "Airc dam," ol sé, "don coinliniu thís danabair asabun. Tuc dam illestar glan induisciu doma [10 b. 1] innadiad." Ishe indiu is tip*rai* Chíaran insin. Dogní infer amal asrupart in clam f*r*iss. Tuc da*no* aidme claidi intal*man* *con*ommadnaiss isund." Dognither da*no*. Is he cetna marb dochuaid foúir Clúana m*aic* Nóiss.

Gabais aidchi iar*om* f*or* Muinis isind inut sin oc tuidecht oRóim. "Is duine Dé," olsé, "roadn*acht* sund: itá timtir*echt* aṅgel ann." Dob*er*tat*ar* i[n]téich *con*areilcib isindcuass indlim. Iadais imbi incuass cuarabárach. Bát*ar* toirsich de, *ocus* atchuatett*ar* do Pat*raic*. "Ita m*ac* bethad doticfa," ol Pat*raic*, "ricfa alless inna taissisin" .i. Cíaran m*ac* intšáir.

Is andsin roiarfacht eps*cop* Muinis doPat*raic* cait iggeb*ad*. "Rogabsat mo bra*thair* portu .i. eps*cop* Mél *ocus* Rióc." Isand dosrala dú itá F*or*ggnaidi indíu. "Ismaith in port thís," ol Pat*raic*. "Isindermonai arintelach ard uccat, nipat ili anmand cissi dochum nime, bet ili, im*morro*, asindí thís." "Isandsa lim," ol eps*cop* Munis, "indloch im[f]arrath. Niléicfet óicc fene *con*anilchaib *ocus* *con*ananfeth bethaith dam ann." Dorigni Pat*raic* airnaigthi coruc Día in loch

When Patrick was in Cruachan Aigle he sent Muinis to Rome with counsel unto the Abbot of Rome, and relics were given him. Then his leper separated from Patrick in Umall. He (the leper) went to the place where Clonmacnois stands to-day. He finds a hollow elm there, with two branches from one stem eastwards out of it. He sits between them. Then a certain man comes to him. "Art thou a believer?" saith the leper. "Yea," saith the man. "(Give) me a bundle of the rushes below, which thou takest out by the roots. Give me in a clean vessel the water which will break forth afterwards." That is to-day the well of Ciaran. The man doth as the leper said to him. "Bring then tools for digging the earth that thou mayst bury me here." (That) too is done. He is the first dead man that went under the clay of Clonmacnois.

Night then overtook Muinis in that place as he was coming from Rome. "It is a man of God," saith he, "that hath been buried here. A service of angels is therein." They put the case with its relics into the hollow of the elm. The hollow closed round it till the morrow. They were sad thereat, and related (it) to Patrick. "It is a son of Life that will come," saith "Patrick: he will require those relics," namely, Ciaran the son of the wright.

Then bishop Muinis asked Patrick in what stead he should settle. "My brothers, namely, bishop Mél and Rioc, have gotten places." Then fell to him the stead in which Forgnaide stands to-day. "Good is the stead below," saith Patrick, "in the . . on the high hill yonder. There will not be many souls from it (going) to heaven: there will, however, be many . . . ." "Grievous to me," saith bishop Munis, "(is) the lake beside me. The warriors with their shouts and their tumult will not leave me life there." Then Patrick prayed, and God brought the lake out of the place in

Rawl., B. 512, fo. 10, b. 1.

asind port irabai, *con*id hé Loch Cróni la húMaine. F*or*accaib Pat*raic* hiForgn*aidi* *ocus* f*or*accaib a Deirgdeirc leis .i. meinistir nobith fó a coim fadesin: dochrethu*mu* doronat[h] *ocus* buindi óir fuirri thos, *ocus* f*or*accaib a bachaill ut prediximus, *ocus* f*or*accaib mind dorigne *con*a laim feissin, Donaidi Matha a ainm, *ocus* doronad cross cruan moithni fair *ocus* ceithri ardda cruanmoin; *ocus* f*or*accaib laiss mind ali .i. cosmaili*us* cometa libair Ioh*ain* nád mór hifail mart*rai* Poil *ocus* Petair *ocus* [10. b. 2] alaili *ocus* biid dog*r*és arbeinn innascr*í*ne.

Luith Pat*raic* íarsin i Tethbai ndeiscirt, dú itá Ardach*ad*, *ocus* rofoth*aig* ecl*ais* isuidiu, *ocus* docreachain dona talmannaib *ocus* donahalachtaib *ocus* dollessaib inna fer, cid nogenfitis *ocus* cindass nobeitis na[1] geine.

Isann f*or*ácaib epsc*op* Mél *ocus* epsc*op* Melchu abrath*air*, *ocus* rochreit Mane m*acc* Neill do *ocus* rombaitsi. *Ocus* do uc Mane banscál nalachtai banchara dó, *ocus* rogaid do Pat*raic* abennacht*ain* innageine bói inabroinn *ocus* abe*n*nacht*ain* feisin. Orosín Pat*raic* a laim f*or*abroind diabendach*ad*, dosuc chuice doridisi, dicens: "Nescio: Deus scit." Derbarusc leissium insin. Araídi bendachais inmnai *ocus* agein *acht* rofit*ir*seom t*re* spir*u*t [2]faítsine ba húa Coirp*ri* mallachda bái inna brú .i. Tuath*al* Mæl-garb. Dixitque Pat*ricius*, "Dothcadach[3] sin, a chóelMane, noconbía rí uait cob*ra*th." Rosléeht Mane do Pat*raic* *ocus* dogní[4] aitrigi, et dixit Patricius, "Rex non erit qui te non habebit,[5] *ocus* is ternaidm assírem[6] mér*us* indÉirind. Bid rí da*no* intí roben-

[1] no., R.

[2] Here recommences Eg. 93, 5. a. 1.

[3] dothócadach, E.

[4] Sic E.; rogni, R.

[5] quasi diceret neminem regnaturum in Hibernia, cui posteri Manij non adhaerebunt *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 132.

[6] isírem, R.; asirem, E.

which it lay, so that it is (now) Loch Cróni in Húi-Mani. Patrick left (him) in Forgnaide, and left with him his *Derg-derc*, that is, a credence-table which used to be in his own keeping (?): of bronze (*créd-uma*) was it made, and there was a pipe of gold on it above; and he left his crozier as we said before, and left a relic which he made with his own hand, *Donaide Matha* was its name; and a cross . . . was made upon it and four points of . . . ; and he left with him another relic, namely, the likeness of the case of the book of John . . . by the relics of Paul and Peter and others; and it is always on the point of the shrine.

Thereafter Patrick went into southern Teffia, the place where stands Ardachad. And he founded a church there, and prophesied of the earthly things and of the pregnant females and of the men's dwellings, what they would bring forth and how the offspring would be.

Then he left bishop Mél and bishop Melchu his brother. And Mane son of Niall believed in him, and he baptized him. And Mane brought a pregnant woman, a concubine of his, and prayed Patrick to bless the child that was lying in her womb, and to bless herself. When Patrick stretched forth his hand on her womb to bless it, he brought it (the hand) back to him again, saying, "I know not; God knoweth." That was a proverb which he had.[1] Howbeit, he blessed the woman and her offspring; but he knew through the spirit of prophecy that it was the accursed Coirpre's grandson that was lying in her womb, namely, Tuathal Moel-garb. And Patrick said, "Luckless is that, O slender Mane! There shall never be a king from thee." Mane knelt to Patrick and made repentance, and Patrick said, "There shall be no king in Ireland who shall not maintain thee (*i.e.* thy posterity), and it is thy bond which

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[1] See, for instance, infra, Book of Armagh, 23 b. 2.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 10, b. 2.

dach*us* (.i. Tuath*al*); sed nescietur cóich biba coich beba," *ocus* rogab rigi iartain *ocus* roindarb Diarm*ait* m*acc* Cerbaill combói f*or* loch Rí *ocus* f*or* Deirgdeirc *ocus* f*or* Luimniuch.

Olaili[1] laithi dodech*aid* Diarmait inaethur sech port Clúana m*aicc*Noiss, cocuala Cíaran fog*ur* *ocus* sesbéin innalungai *ocus* doroghrad insinport, et dixit Ciaran, "Tair cucum, ar it m*ac* ríg, *ocus* toraind inreclés (in marg. .i. ecl*ais* mbic[2]) *ocus* edbair dam inport." Qui (.i. Diarmait) dixit, "Non sum rex." Cui Cíaranus dixit, "Rex eris cr*as*." Isindláu [sin] im*morro* tanic Tuath*al* inrí combuidnib moraib do innarba Diarm*ata*, *con*idromarb Mæl Mór comalta[3] Diarm*ata*, *ocus* romarb*ad* Mæl Mór ind focétóir. Is [11. a. 1] de atá inderbár*us*cc, "Echt Moilc Moíre."[4] Rogab iarom [Diarm*ait*] rígi nhÉrend t*re* bennacht*ain* Cíarain oc toraind ecailsi bicci. Fathrí tairlimm do Díarmait cotanic Temair. Edbairt cachthairl*imme* úad doCíaran imDruim Ráthe. Occurrit nob*is* hic uirtus etiam [?] per an*ti*cipation*em*.

Olaili aimsir atchúas doPat*raic* cin doeps*cop* Mel f*r*ia fiair, tre comrorcoin indæscarsluaig, ar nobitis in æntegdais oc ernaigthi f*ri*sinCoimdi[d]. Otc*on*nairc eps*cop* Mél Pat*raic* chucai día cairiug*ud* do Ardachad, dochúaid epscop Mél do aclaid et*ra*che f*or* a fer flech*od*. Otchúas do Pat*raic* gabail bratán do fonninnassin, roráidi Pat*raic* inderbárusce nairdirc "ar aroi (.i. ar na immaire) adclaiss linne. Fortés Mél du thocad, ar ni fortachtaig[i] Día nach mifhir meirb, id est, non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum." Dodechaid da*no* siur epsc*uip* Mél, *ocus* tene lea innacasa[i]l. Ro-

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[1] Olailiu, E.
[2] inrecles *ocus* ind eclais mbicc, E.
[3] .i. dí Chonaillib, E.
[4] .i. romarb*ad* an romarb nech, E.

shall remain the longest in Ireland. Moreover, he whom I have blessed will be a king, namely, Tuathal. But it shall not be known who shall . . ., who shall . . ." And he took the realm afterwards, and expelled Diarmait son of Cerball, so that he was on Loch Rí and on (Loch) Derg and on Limerick.

On a certain day Diarmait came in his boat past the harbour of Clonmacnois, and Ciaran heard the noise and rattle (?) of the vessel, and (Diarmait) was called to the harbour, and Ciaran said: "Come to me, for thou art a king's son, and mark out the *recles* (*i.e.* little church), and offer the harbour to me." Diarmait said: "I am not a king." To whom Ciarán said: "Thou wilt be a king to-morrow." On that day, however, came Tuathal the king with great troops to expel Diarmait, and Moel-mór, a foster-brother of Diarmait's, slew him, and Moel-mór was himself slain at once. Hence the proverb, "Moel-mór's exploit." So Diarmait got the kingdom of Ireland through Ciarán's blessing, as he was marking out the little church. Thrice did Diarmait alight as he was coming to Tara. At every alighting he made an offering to Ciarán, together with Druim Raithe. We meet with a miracle here by anticipation.

At a certain time Patrick was told, through the error of the rabble, that bishop Mel had sinned with his kinswoman, for they used to be in one habitation a-praying to the Lord. When bishop Mel saw Patrick coming to him, to Ardachad, in order to reproach him, bishop Mel went to angle in the furrows whereon rain had poured. When Patrick was told that he was catching salmon in that wise, Patrick uttered the renowned proverb, "*On his field, i.e., on the ridges he angled for salmon.* I will help Mél to luck, for God assists not a feeble ignorant man, *i.e.*, thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Then bishop Mel's kinswoman came hav-

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 11, a. 1. fit*ir* Pat*raic* natbói cin, eturra, dicens: "Seorsum uiri[1] [et] seorsum feminæ,[2] ne occasionem dare infirmis inveniemur, et ne nomen Domini per nos blasfemaretur, [quod] absit a nobis." Et sic relicit eos, .i. Bri (.i. mons) Leith et*urr*u: sisi in Druimm Chea f*ri* Brí leith indíar,[3] eissium f*ri*ss anair inArddach*ud*.

Luid íarom Pat*ricc* iTetba tuaiscird .i. coc*ri*ch Coirpri,[7] bali roedbrad dósom Gr*á*nard om*acc*aib Coirp*ri*, *ocus* for*á*caibsom indúsin eps*cop* Gúasacht m*acc* Milc*on* acomalta *ocus* nadí Eimir sethracha inhísin; *ocus* ité co*n*áccubsat itúus iClúain Brónaig, *ocus* isairi atá atoibad innacilli f*rí*alaíli *ocus* airchindech Gr*a*naird ortness cenn caillech dog*r*es iCluain Bronaig. Ixtan, im*morro*, rosén Pat*raic* cailli fo*r*sna ógaib rémráitib, dochótar a ceit*ri* cossa isincloich *ocus* feidligit[4] innti a[4] follichta semper.

Dochóid Pat*raic* iarsin tairin*us*[ce] do Maig Sléch t,[5] bali iraibi ardídal nahErend .i. Cend Cr*ú*aich, cumdachta oór *ocus* [ó]argat, *ocus* dá ídal deac aili cumdachta o umai imme. Ot*con*nairc Pat*raic* inídal onuisciu dianid ainm Guthard (.i. gabtha a guth), *ocus* orochomaicsigh dondídal, *con*uargaib aláim dochur bachla Ísa[5] fair, *ocus* nocorala *acht* dorairb*er*t síar donuiniuth[6] fo*r*aleith ndeis arisi[n]deis robái a ag*aid* .i. doTemr*aig*, *ocus* maraidh slicht innabachla inaleith cliu béos, *ocus* araidi nochoroscaig inbachall aláim

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[1] MS. uiris.
[2] MS. feminis.
[3] ania, E.
[3] Sic E.; feidhit, R.
[4] Sic E.; i, R.
[5] Maigslecha, E.
[6] íssu, E.
[7] donuirniuth, E.; don inntiud manu recentiore, E.; qy. read *don irmtiud*, cf. *ermited*, 23. a. 2.

ing fire with her in her chasuble. [And her raiment was not injured.[1] Then] Patrick knew that there was no sin between them, saying, "Let men and women be apart, so that we may not be found to give opportunity to the weak, and so that by us the Lord's name be not blasphemed, which be far from us!" And thus he left them, with Bri Leith between them. She in Druim Chea, to the west of Bri Leith. He is to the east of it, in Ard Achad.

Then Patrick went into northern Teffia, namely to Coirpre's territory, where Granard was offered to him by Coirpre's sons. And he left in that place bishop Guasacht son of Milchu, his foster-brother, and the two Emers, sisters (were) those, and they first set up at Cluain Brónaig, and therefore is the . . . of the church against another; and it is the principal of Granard who always ordains the chief of the nuns in Cluain Brónaig. Now when Patrick blessed the veil on the aforesaid virgins, their four feet went into the stone, and their traces remain therein *semper*.

Thereafter Patrick went over the water to Mag Slecht, a place in which was the chief idol of Ireland, namely, Cenn Cruaich,[2] covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass about him. When Patrick saw the idol from the water named Guth-ard (*i.e.* he uplifted his voice), and when he drew nigh to the idol, he raised up his hand to put Jesu's staff upon it, and reached it not, but . . . its right side, for to the south was its face, namely, to Tara; and the mark of the staff still remains on its left side, and

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[1] Colgan has also: "Et in perennem vtriusque memoriam, locus in quo primum a S. Maele patratum est miraculum, vulgò *an chora thirim* .i. piscina sicca; et secundum, an *Maoil-tene* .i. fatuus ignis, nuncupatur." *Tr. Th.* p. 133.

[2] Colgan has *Crom-cruach*, which is the *Cromm Cruaich* of the Dinnsenchas in the Book of Leinster, p. 213, col. 2.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 11, a. 2.

Pat*raic*; *ocus* rolluicc intalam innadí arracht déac aili conicci acinnu, *ocus* atát fonind*us* sin icomardug*ud* indferta, *ocus* romall*ach* dondeomon, *ocus* ronindarb indIfernd. *Ocus* dorogart Pat*raic* innahuili cum rége Lóegairi: ithésidi ro aidraiset ind ídal, *ocus* at *con*narctar innahule he (.i. demon), *ocus* roimeclaigset anepiltin mane chuireth Pat*raic* hé [inn Iff*rin*].[1] Dorochair da*no* agraif abrut Pat*raic* ocerlad innítho *ocus* ineggnamo f*ri*sinnídal. Rolommairseom infróech isin maiginsin, cofúair agraif, *ocus* noconassa fróichne isin maiginsin sech inachad olchenai.

Forothaigsium [da*no*[1]] ecl*ais* isininutsin .i. Domnach Maige Slécht, *ocus* foráccaib and Mabran Barbarus Patricii, cognatusque ei et profeta; *ocus* itá tip*ra* Pat*raic* ann ubi babtizavit multos.

Luith iar*om* Patraic ic*ri*ch *Con*nacht f*or*Snam-dá-én tarSinainn. Isand fo[f]uaír Pat*raic* indfertais .i. conucbud intalam súas fó Pat*raic* isindáth, *ocus* fogobat indeol*aig* beos indeiscir sin. *Ocus* dochóid isinport fochetoír; *ocus* isand atbath Búadmæl ara Pat*raic*, *ocus* roadn*acht* indúsin. Cell [11 b. 1.] Búadmáil aainm, *ocus* isdílis[2] do Pat*raic* [hí[3]].

Otchúalata*r*, im*morro*, druid[4] Loeg*airi* m*eicc* Neill innahuili dognid Pat*raic* .i. Mæl *ocus* Caplait, dábrath*air*, (ithé roaltatar dí ingin Loeg*airi* .i. Eithni Finn *ocus* Feidilm Dergg) doratsat dorchai dluth[i] dar Mag nÁi huli, t*re* nert Demoin, fri ré t*ri* lá *ocus* t*ri* noidchi. Doronai Pat*raic* iarsin irnaigthi f*ri* Dia, *ocus* rofill [a]gluine *ocus* sénais inmag combo dorcha donadrúidib *ocus* combo sol*us* docách, *ocus* do rogní atluigthe buide do Día. Roindarbanta inna huile dorchai do maig Ái.

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[1] Sic E.
[2] Sic E.; asdiles, R.
[3] Sic E.
[4] drúide, R.; druidh, E.

yet the staff did not move out of Patrick's hand. And the earth swallowed up the twelve other images as far as their heads, and they [still] stand thus in token of the miracle. And he cursed the demon, and expelled him into hell. And Patrick summoned all with king Loegaire. These are they who adored the idol, and all saw him, namely the demon, and they feared they would perish unless Patrick should cast him into hell. Then his brooch fell out of Patrick's mantle as he was . . . the conflict and the prowess against the idol. He stript off the heather in that place, and he found his brooch; and no heather-plant grows in that place more than in the rest of the field.

He founded a church in that stead, namely Domnach Maige Slecht, and left therein Mabran [whose cognomen is] Barbarus Patricii, a relative of his and a prophet. And there is Patrick's well, wherein he baptized many.

Then Patrick went into the province of Connaught by Snám dá Én over the Shannon. There Patrick found the *fertas* (bar? bank?), namely, the earth was raised up under Patrick in the ford; and the learned still find that ridge. And he went into the harbour at once, and there died Buad-moel, Patrick's charioteer, and was buried in that place. Cell Buadmóil is its name, and it belongs to Patrick.

Now when the wizards of Loegaire, son of Niall, heard of all the things that Patrick was doing—(they were) Moel and Caplait, two brothers; it is they that reared Loegaire's two daughters, Ethne the Fair and Fedelm the Ruddy—they brought thick darknesses over the whole of Mag Ai, through might of the devil, for the space of three days and three nights. Then Patrick made prayer to God, and bent his knees, and sained the plain so that it was dark to the wizards and light unto every one (else). And he gave thanks unto God. All the darknesses were banished from Mag Ai.

Rawl., B. 512, fo. 11, b. 1.

Ocus do dechatar tar Sinaind cu Dumai G*raid*. Isisuidiu roortne Ailbi uasalšacart, *ocus* iseisidi itá [1] iSenchói láhúa Ailella. *Ocus* roincossc Pat*raic* dó altóir chlochtha isléib ua nA*il*ella fotalmain, *ocus* ceit*ri* cailig glainid[i] foracheithri uillib (.i. altaris), et dixit: "Cauendum ne frangantur ore fosure." Inter nepotes enim Ailella fuit, et baptiz[a]uit Maneum sanctum quem ordinavit episcopus Bronus filius Iccni, qui est icCaisel hIrroe, seruus Dei, socius Patricii.

Luid Pat*raic* do Maig [2] Glass. Is ann fo[ro]thaig [3] Cill Mó[i]r Maigi Glaiss, *ocus* farácaib díis [4] dia muintir and .i. Conleng *ocus* Ercleng. Deinde uenit in fines Corcu Ochland fri aun Ailella disiu *ocus* f*ri* Ba[d]gna antuaith. Robátar dabra*thair* indú sin .i. Id *ocus* hOna, drúid íat. Dixit hOno ad Patricium, "Cid dobéra dam arintalmainsin?" Dixit Patricius, "Vítam eternam." [5] Ait hOno, "techtaisiu ór, tabair dam airi." Respondit Patricius, "Doratass [6] [11. b. 2] mór donahulib, acht dobéra Dia araill." Arránicsom maiss nóir íartain irraithi*us* (.i. mucaill) namuc *ocus* dob*ert* Pat*raic* inbruth nóirsin dó [7] aratir. Tír inBrotha aainm. Tunc dixit Patricius, "Nec rex eris et nec de semine tuo regnábit in eternum." Illius vero lacrimis misertus est Patricius, dicens: "Nocoba rí intí nadgeba *ocus* nadordnibi," quod impletur. Cenel maicc Erce istressam *ocus* issonairtem la*Con*nachta, acht nochanfollamnaiget am*al* ardrígu.

Óno *macc* Oíng*usa* m*eicc* Erca De[i]rgg, m*eicc* Bróin de quo Ui Onach, roedbart ategdais doPat*raic*, *ocus* Imlech Onand [8] a ainm intansin, Ail-find, im*morro*, indíu.

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[1] ata, E.

[2] Sic E.; mag, R.

[3] forothaigh, E.

[4] Sic E.; dias, R.

[5] eternvm, R.

[6] Donatus, E.

[7] .i. hOno, E.

[8] ónonn, E,

And they went over the Shannon to Duma Graid. Therein he ordained Ailbe an archpresbyter, and he is in Sen-chua with the descendants of Ailill; and Patrick informed him of a stone altar in Sliab Húa-n-Ailella under the ground, with four glass chalices at the four angles of the altar, *et dixit,* "Beware of breaking the edges of the excavation." For he was among the descendants of Ailill. And he baptized holy Mane, whom bishop Brón son of Icne ordained, [and] who is in Caisel Irroe, a servant of God, a companion of Patrick.

Patrick went to Mag Glass. There he founded Cell Mór Maige Glaiss, and left therein two of his household, namely Conleng and Ercleng. Then he came into the territory of Corcu-Ochland to this side of the Húi-Ailella and to the north of Badgna. Two brothers were biding in that place, namely, Id and Hono: wizards were they. Said Hono to Patrick, "What wilt thou give me for that land?" Said Patrick, "Life eternal." Said Hono, "Thou hast gold: give (some) to me for it." Patrick replied, "I have given my gold to all, but God will give (me) other (gold)." He afterwards found a lump of gold where the swine were rooting, and Patrick gave him that mass of gold for his land. *Tír in Brotha*[1] is its name. Then said Patrick, "Thou shalt not be a king, nor shall any of thy seed reign for ever." But Patrick took pity on his tears, saying: "He shall not be king whom thou [*i.e.* thy posterity] wilt not accept and wilt not ordain." Which thing hath been fulfilled. The race of Macc Erce is the mightiest and firmest in Connaught; but they do not rule like overkings.

Óno, son of Oengus, son of Erc the Red, son of Brón, from whom descend the Húi-Ónach, offered his dwelling to Patrick; and Imlech Onand was its name then, but Ail

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[1] i.e., the land of the mass.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 11, b. 2.

Dindail tuargabad isintiprait[1] doronat (*sic*) la Pat*raic* isindfoitchi *ocus* itá[2] *for*brúch intopair nominatur locus Ail-find; de aqua nuncupatur. Et dixit illi[3] Patricius, "Bid bendachtha do sil *ocus* bíaid búaid laech *ocus* cleirech huáit cobráth, *ocus* bid léu orba inluiccsi." Et posuit ibi Assicum et Bíte filium Assicí[4] et Cipiam matrem Bitei episcopi. Assicus sanctus episcopus [fuit] faber ereus Patricii, *ocus* dogníd altori *ocus* miassa ceth[o]rchori *ocus* leborchometa chethrochori inonóir Pa*traic*; *ocus* robói miass chethorchari dib inArdmacha, *ocus* alaili ind Ail-find *ocus* alaili inDomnach Mór Maigi Seolai *for* altóir Felarti episcopi sancti la úu Briúin Seolai, fota oAil-finn síar.

Dochóid iar*om* Assicus for techeth[5] is[in] tuaiscert[6] do Sleib Liac itir Bogaini.[7] Robói .uii. mbli*a*dna ininsi[8] and, *ocus* *con*naigtis à manaig hé, *ocus* fóbhúarat*ar* isnahib[9] g[l]ennaib sleibidib íarsæthar, *ocus* dofucsat léu ass, *ocus* at[12 a. 1.]-bath (.i. Assicus) occu isindithrub *ocus* ronadnaigset hirRáith Chuṅga hiSerthib, aritrubairt som náticfad doridisi imMag ṅAi arinngói roráided úad and. Inde dicitur: "Mithig[10] imbrimm iScirthi." *Ocus* doratt rí intiri dosom *ocus* diamanchaib iarnahécc iṅgelt *céit* bó cum vitulis suis *ocus* .xx. dam inedbairt suthain.[11] Atát athaissi hiRáith Chungai, *ocus* laPat*raic* inchell fordosrala muintir Col*uim* chille *ocus* Aird Ṡratha.[11]

[1] asintiprait, E.
[2] ata, E.
[3] ille, R.
[4] filium fratris Assicus, E.
[5] tetheth, R.; teithed, E.
[6] isin tuaiscirt, E.
[7] Bogainiu, E. Loquinia, R.
[8] innisi, R.; ininsi, E.
[9] isnaib, E.
[10] Sic E.; mithid, R.
[11] Ṡratha, E.; srathra, R.

Find (White Stone) to-day. The place is named *Ail-find* from the stone (*ail*) which was raised out of the well that was made by Patrick in the green and which stands on the brink of the well: it is called from the water [*find* (fair)]. And Patrick said, "Thy seed shall be blessed, and there shall be victory of laymen and clerics from thee for ever, and they shall have the inheritance of this place." And he placed there Assicus and Bite son of Assicus, and Cipia mother of Bite the bishop. The holy bishop Assicus was Patrick's copper-smith, and he made altars and quadrangular tables and quadrangular book-covers in honour of Patrick, and one of these quadrangular tables[1] was in Armagh, and another in Ailfind, and another in Domnach Mór Maige Seolai, on the altar of Felart the holy bishop with the Húi-Briuin Seolai far westward from Ailfind.

However, Assicus [in shame because of a lie told by him,] went in flight into the north, to Sliab Liacc in Tír Boguini. He abode seven years in an island there, and his monks were seeking him, and after (much) trouble found him in the mountain-glens, and brought him thence with them, and he (namely Assicus) died with them in the wilderness, and they buried him in Raith Cungai in Serthe, for he had declared that he would not go again into Mag-Ái on account of the falsehood which had been uttered by him there.[2] Hence is said, "Time to travel into Serthe." And the king of the land gave to him, and to his monks after his death, the grazing of a hundred cows with their calves and of twenty oxen, as a permanent offering. His relics are in Raith Cungai, and to Patrick belongs the church (although) the community of Colomb Cille and Ard Sratha have come down[3] upon it.

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[1] Lit. a quadrangular table of them.

[2] In the original this passage is misplaced—the words *aritrubairt* . . . . *and* coming next after *suthain*.

[3] 'encroached,' Mr. Hennessy.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 12 a. 1.

Luith Pat*raic* óAil-find coDumacha óa nAilella, *ocus* forothaig eclais and .i. Senchell Dumaigi, *ocus* forácaib inti Maichet *ocus* Cetchen *ocus* Rodán úasalsacart *ocus* Mathona síur Binén, quae tenuit caille oPat*raic* *ocus* óRodán, *ocus* robomanchess dóib.

Diambói Pat*raic* oc Duma Graid ic ordned intšlúaig[1] moír, fóatbi. "Cid insin?" olBinén. "Ni *anse*," ol Pat*raic*. "Brón *ocus* Manach Olcán tecait modóecum iarT*r*acht Eothaili, *ocus* modaltasa *macc* Ercai léu. Dorat tonn intuli t*r*es mór o *us* fubthad don *macc* dia breith." Fáithsine insen.

Luith t*r*ia c*r*ichai úa nAilella, *ocus* fothaigis inecl*ais* sair[2] hiTamnach, [*ocus*] cumdachta hí oDía *ocus* odúinib. Et ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias sancti Rodáni, et successores eorum epulabantur inuicem. Post hoc autem possuerunt episcopum Cairellum iuxta sanctam eclesiam hiTamnuch, quem ordinaverunt episcopi Patricí .i. Bronus et Biteus.

Doluid Pat*raic* iarsin dontopur .i. Cliabach,[4] hi slessaib Cruachan friturgb*áil*[3] ṅgréne. Deissetar[5] inchleirich ic*on*tiprait. Dolotar di ingin Loeg*ai*ri m*eic* Neill comoch dontip*r*ait donigi alám, amal [12 a. 2]

[1] insluaig, R.; intšluaigh, E.

[2] Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 135) translates *in-eclais sair* by 'insignem Ecclesiam' as if for *sair* his texts had *sóir* 'noble.'

[3] turcbail, E.

[4] Clibech, E.

[5] Destitar, E.

Patrick went from Ail Find to Dumacha Húa n-Ailella, and founded a church there, namely Senchell Dumaige, and left therein Maichet and Cetchen and Rodan an archpresbyter, and Mathona Benén's sister, who took the veil from Patrick and from Rodan, and was a monkess of theirs.

While Patrick was biding at Duma Graid, ordaining the great host, he smiled. "What is that?" saith Benén. "Not hard to say," saith Patrick. "Brón and Monk Olcán are coming towards me along the Strand of Eothaile, and my pupil Mac Erca is with them. The wave of the flood made a great dash (at them), and the boy was afraid of being carried away." That was a prophecy.

Then he went through the bounds of Húi-Ailella, and founded the church east in Tamnach, and it was covered by God and by men. And she (Mathona) made friendship with Saint Rodan's relics, and their successors feasted in turns. But after this they placed by the holy church in Tamnach bishop Cairell, whom Patrick's bishops, Brón and Bite, ordained.[1]

Thereafter Patrick went at sunrise to the well, namely, Cliabach on the sides of Cruachan. The clerics sat down by the well. Two daughters of Loegaire son of Niall went early to the well to wash

[1] The text is in great confusion, owing, apparently, to the interpolation of the last preceding paragraph. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 135) has: Peragravit Sanctus Patricius regionem de Hua noilella, et construxit insignem Ecclesiam de *Tamnacha*; quæ Dei et hominum singulari patrocinio et tutela custoditur. Ecclesiæ Tamnacensi præfecit Episcopum Carellum, quem juxta Ecclesiæ consuetudinem in *Episcopum ordinarunt Patricius, Bronus et Bitæus. Et ipse fecit amicitiam ad reliquias Sancti Rodani: et successores eorum epulabantur inuicem* mutuis conuiuiis initæ amicitiæ fœdus et charitatem refouentes. It appears from the Book of Armagh, 12, a. 1, that it was Mathona that founded the church in Tamnach and made friendship to S. Rodan's relics, whatever this may mean.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 12 a. 2.

[ba] béss dóib .i. Eithne Find *ocus* Feidelmm Dergg. *Con*nairnechtar nahingena senod innaclérech icontiprait conetaigib gelaib *ocus* allib*uir* arambélaib, *ocus* roiíngantaigset deilb innacleirech. Doruimmenatar bádis fir síthe no fantaitsi.[1] Imcomaircet scela doPat*raic*: "Cía chan duib *ocus* can dodechabair? Inn asíthaib, in do deib dúib?" Et dixit Patricius eis: "Robud[2] ferr dúib *cre*idem[3] do Dia[4] andás imcomarc diarceiníulni." Ad*ru*bai*r*t indingen roba ṡiniu, "Cia bar ṅdíæisi[5] *ocus* cia airm hítá? In inimh no hítalam? In futal*main* no fortal*main*? Inn amuirib[6] nó hisrothaib? Inn asleibib[7] no inglennaib? In failet maic *ocus* ingena laiss? In fail ór *ocus* airget? In fail immed cecha maithessa in[n]afl*aith*? Dic nobis notitiam[8] eius, quomodo uidetur, quomodo diligitur, [quomodo] inuenitur, si in iuventute, si in senectute, si uiuuss semper, si pulcer, sí filium eius nutrierunt multi, si filie eius[8] caræ et pulc*rae* sunt hominibus mundi?" Respondit[9] autem Pátricius[10] sanctus Spiritu Sancto plenus: "Deus noster Deus omnium, Deus coeli et terre, maris et fluminis, Deus solis et lune et omnium siderum, Deus montium sublimium et convallium humilium, Deus super cœlum et in cœlo et sub coelo habet habitaculum[11] et erga caelum et terram et mare et omnia quae in eis sunt.[12] Inspirat[13] omnia, uivifi-

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[1] fantaissi, E.

[2] robad, E.

[3] creittem, E.

[4] d. R.

[5] far ndiasi, E.

[6] no hi muirib, E.

[7] in hi sliabaib, E.

[8] .i. abair dun cofol*lus* cinn*us* docifem e *ocus* cinn*us* gradaigth*er* *ocus* cinn*us* dogebthar é, no in og é no in arrsaid? no in beo é dognath, *no* an saotham*ail* e no iné amacc oilfaigther nahuile, no in í a ingin, E.

[9] Dofreccair, E.

[10] Pat*raic*, E.

[11] ahabitacul, E.

[12] arnDiane Dia nanuili, Dia nimi *ocus* Dia tal*man*, Dia namara *ocus* na scothann [leg. srothán], Dia na greue *ocus* in esca *ocus* cachuili airdrenn., Dia na sleibti roard *ocus* nanglennta isil, Dia Dia os neimh *ocus* inneim *ocus* fóneimh, *ocus* ata aige tegh[d]ais .i. nemh *ocus* talam *ocus* muir *ocus* cachni ata intu sin, E.

[13] in spiritu, R.

their hands, as was a custom of theirs, namely, Ethne the Fair, and Fedelm the Ruddy.[1] The maidens found beside the well the assembly of the clerics in white garments, with their books before them. And they wondered at the shape of the clerics, and thought that they were men of the elves or apparitions. They asked tidings of Patrick: "Whence are ye, and whence have ye come? Are ye of the elves or of the gods?" And Patrick said to them: "It were better for you to believe in God than to inquire about our race." Said the girl who was elder: "Who is your god? and where is he? Is he in heaven, or in earth, or under earth, or on earth? Is he in seas or in streams, or in mountains or in glens? Hath he sons and daughters? Is there gold and silver, is there abundance of every good thing in his kingdom? Tell us about him, how he is seen, how he is loved, how he is found? if he is in youth, or if he is in age? if he is everliving; if he is beautiful? if many have fostered his son? if his daughters are dear and beautiful to the men of the world?" Then answered holy Patrick, filled with the Holy Spirit: "Our God is the God of all things, the God of heaven and earth and sea and river, the God of sun and moon and all the stars, the God of high mountains and lowly valleys; the God over heaven and in heaven and under heaven. He hath a dwelling both in heaven and earth and sea and all that are therein. He inspires all things, he quickens all things; he

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[1] This curious story is translated rom the Latin of the Book of Armagh by Dr. Todd in his *St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 453-455.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 12 a. 2. cat omnia, superat omnia, suffultat[1] omnia. Solis lumen illuminat et lumen lune. Fontes fecit in arida terra, insulas in mari siccas et stellas in ministerium maiorum luminum[2] possuit. Filium habet coeternum sibi et consimilem, sed non iunior[3] Filius Patre, nec Pater Filio senior, et Spiritus Sanctus inflat [in eis]. fo. 12 b. 1. Non separatur Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Adcobraimsi im*morro* farnaccomalsi dom*acc* inRíg Nemda, áritib ingena ríg talman." Et dixerunt filiæ amal bid o óingin *ocus* ó óinchridi, "Cind*ass* co*n*icfam creitem donrígsin? Doce nos diligentissime, *con*accomar in Coimdhi[d] gnuiss fr*i*gnuiss. Inchoisc dún inmod *ocus* dogénamne am*al* atb*er*asu fr*i*nd." [Et] dixit Patricius: "INcreitisiu tre baithis pecad var mathar *ocus* varnathar dochur úaib?" Responderunt, "Credimus."[4] "INcreitisi aithrigi iarpecad?" "Credimus." Et babtizate sunt, *ocus* rosen Pat*raic* calle finn f*or*accendaib.

Ocus dorothlaigset imchaisin C*ri*st gnuis frign*uis* [et] dixit Patricius eis: "nocochumcaissi imchaisin Críst acht mablastí bas arthús *ocus* acht má airfemaid corp Críst *ocus* afuil." Et responderunt filiæ: "Tabair dún insacarbaic cocoimsam intairgerthair d'égad." Árroetat*ar* iarsin sacarb*aic* *ocus* rochotailset immbás; *ocus* dosrat [Pátraic] fo oínbrat inoínl*ebaid*, *ocus* dorigenset acarait acóine comór.

Dorigensat [tra] indrúid *con*flicht f*ri*Pat*raic* archreitem donaib ingenaib *ocus* arate*cht* dochum nime. .i. Moel *ocus* Caplait. Tainic Caplait coraba i[c]cói *fri*Pat*raic*, arisé roalt indaraningi*n*. Rop*ri*tach[5] Pat*raic* dóu *ocus* rocreit doDía *ocus* doPat*raic*, *ocus* dorat [Pátraic] deimess immafolt. Táinicc iarsin indrúi[6] eli .i. Mæl, *ocus*

[1] suflat, R.; sufflat, E. = sufultat, Lib. Arm., i.e. suffulcit.
[2] lummenis, R. lumeni, E.
[3] iunior, R.
[4] creidimus, R. E.
[5] Rofritchai, E.
[6] drúid, R.

surpasses all things; he sustains all things. He kindles the light of the sun and the light of the moon. He made springs in arid land and dry islands in the sea, and stars he appointed to minister to the greater lights. He hath a Son coeternal with Himself, and like unto Him. But the Son is not younger than the Father, nor is the Father older than the Son. And the Holy Spirit breathes in them. Father and Son and Holy Spirit are not divided. Howbeit, I desire to unite you to the Son of the Heavenly King, for ye are daughters of a king of earth." And the maidens said as it were with one mouth and with one heart: "How shall we be able to believe in that King? Teach us most diligently that we may see the Lord face to face. Teach us the way, and we will do whatsoever thou shalt say unto us." And Patrick said, "Believe ye that through baptism your mother's sin and your father's is put away from you?" They answered, "We believe." "Believe ye in repentance after sin?" "We believe." And they were baptized, and Patrick blessed a white veil on their heads.

And they asked to see Christ, face to face. And Patrick said to them: "Ye cannot see Christ unless ye first taste of death, and unless ye receive Christ's Body and his Blood." And the girls answered: "Give us the sacrifice that we may be able to see the Spouse." Then they received the sacrifice, and fell asleep in death; and Patrick put them under one mantle in one bed; and their friends bewailed them greatly.

Now, the wizards, namely Mael and Caplait, contended against Patrick, because the girls had received the faith and because they had gone to heaven. Caplait came and was crying against Patrick, for he, Caplait, had fostered the second girl. Patrick preached to him, and he believed in God and in Patrick, and Patrick put the shears round his hair.[1] Thereafter came the other wizard,

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[1] i.e. tonsured him, 'in monachum totundit,' Colgan *Tr. Th.*, 136.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 12 b. 1. roráidi *fri*Pat*raic*: "Rochreit," arsé, "mobráthair daitsiu.[1] Nigéba gr*eim* na torba," olse, "dóu. Dombersa dorithisi hinngen[t]*lecht*." *Ocus* robói icathaisiug*ud*[2] Pat*raic*. Rop*ri*tach [Pátraic] dóu *ocus* roc*r*eit do Dia *ocus* doPat*raic* indrúi, *ocus* romberr Pat*raic*, *con*id desin isárusc "cosmail Mæl do Chaplait" .i. arisf*or*óen rochreitset. *Ocus* f*or*orbaide laithi nacanti, *ocus* roadnaicthi inna hingena indú sin, *ocus* rohedbr*ad* Sendomn*ach* Maigi Ái doPat*raic* in eternum. *Ocus* asbe*r*at alaili tuctha taissi innaningen doArd Mache et ibi fo. 12 b. 2. resurrectionem expectant.

Luid Patraic iarsin itír Cairedo *ocus* f*or*othaig ecl*ais* inArd Licci .i. Sendomnach, *ocus* farácaib inti Cæmán dechon. Oc*us* arroerachair Pat*raic* Ard Senlis, ubi posuit Lallócc sanctam[3] et tenuit locum in campo Nento. *Ocus* docót*ar* la Cethecho eps*cop* diatír. Do ceníul Ailella amath*air*, Do ceníul Sái do Cíanacht óDomnach Sairigi ic Dom-líacc Chianán. [aathair.] *Ocus* bahé béss eps*cuip* Cethecho: isinDomnach Saí noceilebrad incáisc móir *ocus* indAth-da-láracc iCenann*us* noceilebr*ad* inmincaisc *cum* Comgilla, aritbe*r*at muint*er* Cethig *con*id manchess do Cheithiuch Comgilla.

Luid Pat*raic* iarsin icr*í*ch Húa Maine *ocus* forácaib uasaldechon dia muintir and .i. dechon Íus, arroerachair Fidarta. *Ocus* forácaib Pat*raic* a leb*ar* nui*r*d *ocus* babt*i*smi occai *ocus* rombaitsi[4] Húu Maine. *Ocus* rombaitsi[5] dechon Iús inasentaid Cíarán m*ac*c intšáir asinlebo*r*sin Pat*raic* quia cxl. fuit qu*an*do Ciaranum[6] babtizauit, ut aiunt peritissimi.

Fra*i*ncc Pat*raic* im*morr*o dochúatar huad .i. cóicc braithir décc *ocus* oen tsíur .i. B*r*enicius, Hibe*r*nici*us*

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[1] mubrathair duitsiu, E.

[2] aithisiug*ud*, E.

[3] sic, E. 'sanctum,' R. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*,136) has 'in quo *Lallocam* virginem reliquit.'

[4] robaitsi, E.

[5] robaitsi, E.

[6] ciaran 7, R.

namely Moel, and said to Patrick: "My brother," saith he, "hath believed in thee. No advantage nor profit shalt thou get of him. I will bring him back into heathenism." And he was disgracing Patrick. Patrick preached to him, and the wizard believed in God and in Patrick; and Patrick tonsured him, so that thence is the proverb: "Moel is like unto Caplait," that is, they were at one in their belief. And the days of the lamentation were completed, and the girls were buried in that place, and Sendomnach Maige Ái was offered to Patrick in perpetuity; and some say that the relics of the girls were taken to Armagh, and there they await the Resurrection.

Patrick went thereafter into Tír Cairedo, and founded at Ard Licce a church, namely, Sendomnach; and he left therein Deacon Coemán. And Patrick built (?) Ard Senlis, where he placed holy Lallócc, and he obtained a place in Mag Nento. And they went with bishop Cethech to his country. Of the race of Ailill was Cethech's mother. Of the Cenél Sái of Cianacht from Domnach Sairigi at Dom-liacc Cianáin was his father. And this was the custom of bishop Cethech: in Domnach Sái[1] he used to celebrate the Great Easter, and in Áth-dá-Laracc in Cenannus[2] he used to celebrate the Little Easter with Comgilla, for the community of Cethech say that Comgilla was monkess to Cethech.

Then Patrick went into the territory of Húi-Maine, and left there an archdeacon of his household, to wit, Deacon Just, and founded Fidarta. And Patrick left his book of ritual and baptism with him, and baptized Húi-Maine. And in his old age Deacon Just baptized Ciaran son of the wright out of that book of Patrick,—('in his old age') because he was a hundred and forty when he baptized Ciaran, as the most skilful say.

Patrick's Franks, moreover, went from him, namely fifteen brothers and one sister, namely, Bernicius, Hiber-

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[1] which was situate *in paterno solo.*

[2] in materno solo situm, Colg. Tr. Th., 136.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 12 b. 2. [et Hernicus] et reliqui *ocus* intsíur Nitria. *Ocus* dorata illuic[1] doib. Óin dibsidi Imgæ Baislicci iter Úu Mane *ocus* Mag nÁi. Rohincoisc Pat*raic* dóib cosmaili*us* inluicc *con*améur ó chill Garat, quia uenerunt ad Patricium ut eligeret illis de locis quos invenerunt.

fo. 13 a. 1. Rofothaig Pat*raic* Cill Garad, ubi Cetheg *ocus* ferta Cethig[2] immallc. ISand sin dorónai Pat*raic* antop*ur*[3] dianid ainm Úaran Garad, *ocus* rocharsom comór ind*us*ciusin,[4] ut ipse dixit:

Uarán gar,
úarán rochar*us* romchar.[5]
t*rú*ag monuallán, a Dé dil,
gan mo digh ahUarán nGar.[6]
Uarán úar,
úar incách dodech*aid* úad,
minbad f*or*ggairi moRíg,
úad níthergainn cid sín úar.
Fótrí dodechod istír,
tri cóica báse molín,
etir sasám
ba sé modídnad[7] Úar*án*.[8]

Dochóid Pat*raic* íarsin coMag Selce .i. do Dumai[9] Ṡelce, *ocus* isand robat*ar* se meic B*r*iain .i. Bolc Derc, Derthacht, Eichen, Cremthan, Coelcharna, Echaid. *Ocus* roscrib Pat*raic* *tri* hanmanna indúsin hit*ri*clochaib .i. IESUS, SOTER, SALVATOR. Robendach*a*star Pat*raic* Úu Briúin aduma[10] Selce, *ocus* itá[11] suide Pat*raic* and it*er* nat*ri* clochai in quibus scribsit literas. Et nomina episco[po]rum qui cum illo

[1] luic, R., illuicc, E.
[2] Gethich, E.
[3] intopur, E.
[4] inuisci, E.
[5] domchar, E.
[6] cen mu dig a úaran glan, E.
[7] dígnad, R.
[8] The second and third quatrains are wanting in E., which adds to the first 'deest.'
[9] codumu, E.
[10] dumu, E.
[11] ata, E.

nicius and Hernicus, etc., and the sister Nitria. And many places were bestowed upon them. One of these was Imgae Baislicce between Húi-Mane and Mag Ái. The likeness of the place Patrick indicated to them with his finger from Cell Garad,[1] for they had come to Patrick that he might make choice for them of the places which they found.

Patrick founded Cell Garad, where are Cethech and Cethech's tomb together. There Patrick made the well named Uaran Garad, and he loved that water greatly, as he himself said:

Uarán Gar!
Uarán which I have loved, which loved me!
Sad is my cry, O dear God,
Without my drink out of Uaran Gar!
Cold Uarán,
Cold is every one who has gone from it:
Were it not my King's command,
I would not wend from it, though the weather is cold.
Thrice I went into the land:
Three fifties, this was my number,
Among . . .
This was my consolation, Uarán.

Thereafter Patrick went to Mag Selce, that is to Duma Selce, and biding there were Brian's six sons, namely, Bole the Red,[2] Derthacht, Eichen, Cremthann, Coelcharna, Echaid. And Patrick wrote three names in that place, on three stones, to wit, JESUS, SOTER, SALVATOR. Patrick blessed the Húi-Briuin from Duma Selce, and Patrick's seat is there among the three stones on which he inscribed the letters. And the names of the

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[1] Colgan's text seems to have differed here: uni ex his [scil. fratribus] assignauit Ecclesiam de Imga Bais-lece . . . aliis ex ordine digito demonstrando, designauit sua loca, *Tr. Th.*, p. 136.

[1] Bognam cognomento Rubrum, Colg., *Tr. Th.*, 136.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13 a. 1. illic fuerunt .i. Bronus episcopus[, Biteus] Casil Irre, Sachelus Basilici móiri iCíarraigiu, Brocaid Iml*ich* Ech brathair Lomán Átha Truim, Brónachus prespit*er*, Rodán, Cassán, Benén comarp[a] Pa*traic* *ocus* Benén brath*air* Cethig, Felartus episcopus *ocus* caillech síur indí sin, *ocus* alaili síur *quae* sit in insola in mari *Con*m*ac*ne .i. Croch Culi *Con*m*ac*ne. *Ocus* rofothaigest*ar* ecl*ais* f*or* Loch Selce .i. Domnach [Mór] Maigi Selce, in quo babtizauit Úu Briúin.[1]

Luid Pat*raic* igG*re*craidi Locha Teget. Forothaig eclais and .i. inDruime,[2] *ocus* roclaid topur occei, *ocus* nochatechta sruth inti ná cissi, *acht* lán tre bithu; *ocus* isé aainm, Bithlán.

Forothaig iarsin Cill At*ra*chtæ ingGrecr*aidi* *ocus* ingen Talán inti, quae accepit calli deláim Pat*raic*, fo. 13 a. 2. *ocus* for*á*caib teisc *ocus* cail*ech* léa. Atracht ingen Talaín[3] m*ei*cc Cathb*aid* de G*reg*r*aidi*[4] Locha Teichet, síur Cóeman Airtni Coemán. Senais Pat*raic* calli f*or*acend. Drummana ainm intíri imbát*ar*. Machari indíu. Docoras casal donim[5] inucht Pat*raic*. "Bíth lat inchasal, achaillech," olPat*raic*. "Nato," olsí, "ní dam doratad *acht* dut bonnæ."[6]

Dochóid do*no* com*ac*cu Eirc. Tellsat eochu Pat*raic* *ocus* rosmallach[7] Pat*raic*, dicens, "Fogníth var síl do síl varmb*ra*th*ar* in eternum."

Luid Pat*raic* imMag Airtig et benedixit locum .i. Ailech Airtig iTailaig naCloch. Oc*us* dochóid [iarom] inDrumat Ciarr*aig*i Artig. Arránic diis mbrathar and icimchlaidbed imferann anathar iarnahec .i. Bibar *ocus*

[1] E. adds 'et benedixit.'
[2] drummae, E. *Druimnea*, Tr. Th., 137.
[3] tail, E.
[4] *gregraigiu*, E.
[5] di nim, E.
[6] bónnae, E.
[7] rósmallacht, E.

bishops who were there along with him, [are] Brón the bishop, Bite of Casel Irre, Sachell of Baslec Mór in Ciarraige, Brochaid of Imlech Ech, brother of Lommán of Áth Truim, Bronach the Priest, Rodán, Cassán, Benén Patrick's successor, and Benén brother of Cethech, bishop Felart, and a nun a sister of him, and another sister who is in an island in the sea of Conmacne, namely, Croch of Cuil Conmacne. And he founded a church on Loch Selce, namely, Domnach [Mór] Maige Selce, in which he baptized the Húi-Briuin [and blessed them].

Patrick went into Grecraide of Loch Techet. He founded a church there, to wit, in Drumne; and by it he dug a well, and it hath no stream (flowing) into it or out of it; but it is full for ever; and this is its name, *Bith-lán* ("Everfull").

After that he founded Cell Atrachta in Gregraide, and (placed) in it Talan's daughter, who took the veil from Patrick's hand; and he left a paten and a chalice with her, Atracht, daughter of Talan, son of Cathbad, of the Gregraide of Loch Techet, a sister of Coemán of Airtne Coemáin. Patrick sained the veil on her head. Drummana was the name of the place in which they were biding. It is (called) Machare to-day. A chasuble was sent from heaven into Patrick's breast. "Let the chasuble be thine, O nun," saith Patrick. "Not so," saith she: "not unto me hath it been given, but to thy goodness."

Then he went to the sons of Erc. They stole Patrick's horses, and Patrick cursed them, saying: "Your offspring shall serve the offspring of your brethren for ever."

Patrick went into Mag Airtig and blessed a place, namely Ailech Airtig in Telach na Cloch (the Hill of the Stones). And then he went into Drummat Ciarraigi. There he found two brothers, namely Bibar and Lochru, two

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13 a. 2.

Lochru dá m*acc* Tamanchind diChíarraigi. Senais úad Pat*raic* a[l]láma coroecsat alama immaclaidbiu *con*ná coemnactar asíniud nách atairniud. Dixit Patricius eis, "Saidid," *ocus* rosb*enn*ach, *ocus* doronai sith eturra. *Ocus* doratsat intír doPat*raic* aranmain anathar, *ocus* forothaig Pat*raic* ecl*ais* and ifail Conu sær, brath*air* epsc*uip* Sachall[1] (.i. Baslici).

Docóid Pat*raic* íarsin iCiarr*aig*e nÁrne, cotarla do Ernaisc *ocus* am*acc* Loarnach[2] fobile and, ocus scribais P*atraic* aipgit*er* do, *ocus* anais *secht*main occai di feraib déac. *Ocus* fothaigis Pat*raic* ecl*ais* indúsin, et tenuit illum abbatem, et fuit quidem Spiritu Sancto plenus.

Ocus dochóid Pa*traic* doTop*ur* Mucno *ocus* roinsaig[3] Senchill, et fuit Secundinus solus sub ulmo frondoso separatim, et est signum[4] crucis in eo loco usque in hunc diem. Oc*us* roescomlai iar sin itir *Con*maicne hiCúl Tolaith, ocus rosuidig ecailsi cetharchairi isind inut sin. Oín díbsidi Ardd Uiscon. 7 rl.

Luid imMag Ceræ. Tarraiset[ar] iCuil Corre, *ocus* forothaig eclais isindluc sin, et babtizauit multós.

fo. 13 b. 1.

Íarsin dochoid Pat*raic* imMag Foimsen *co*nairnic dá bráth*air* and .i. Luchta *ocus* Derclam. Fóidis Derclam amogaid do orcoin Pat*raic*. Rotairmesc im*morro* Luctheos imbi. Cui dixit Patricius, "Beitit sacairt *ocus* epsc*uip* dotcheniul. Bid mallachta im*morro* sil dobráth*ar* *ocus* bid uathad." Et reliquit in illo loco Cruimthir *Conán*, *ocus* docóid iar*um* do thopar Stringle isindithrub, *ocus* bái dá domnach forsintopursin.

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[1] sachnull, E., Sacelli, Colg.
[2] *Loarnum*, *Tr.* Th. 137.
[3] róinsaidig, E.
[4] separatem . . . signis, R.

sons of Tamanchenn of Ciarraige, fighting with swords about their father's land after his death. Patrick sained their hands, and their hands grew stiff (?) about their swords, so that they were unable to stretch them forth or to lower them. Patrick said to them: "Sit ye," and he blessed them, and made peace between them. And they gave the land to Patrick for (sake of) their father's soul. And there Patrick founded a church, wherein there is Conu the wright, brother of bishop Sachall, namely of Baslic.

After that Patrick went into Ciarraige Árne, and Ernaisc and his son Loarnach met him under a tree there. And Patrick wrote an alphabet for him, and remained by him with twelve men for a week. And Patrick founded a church in that place, and took him as abbot, and he was indeed full of the Holy Spirit.

And Patrick went to Topur Mucno (Mucno's well), and erected Senchell. And Secundinus was (there) apart under a lofty elm; and the sign of the cross is in that place even to this day. And Patrick afterwards went into the land of Conmaicne in Cúl Tolaith, and established four-cornered churches in that place. One of them is Ard Uiscon, etc.

He went into Mag Cerae. They stopped in Cíul Corre, and he founded a church in that place, and baptized many.

After that Patrick went into Mag Foimsen, and found two brothers there, namely, Luchta and Derglám. Derglám sent his bondsman to slay Patrick. Howbeit Luchta forbade him. *Cui dixit Patricius:* "There will be priests and bishops of thy race. Accursed, however, will be the seed of thy brother, and they will be few." And he left in that place Priest Conan, and went afterwards to Stringell's well in the wilderness, and was at that well for two Sundays.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13 b. 1.

Luid Pat*raic* coFiru Umaill do Achad Ḟobair. Isandsin roordned epsc*op* Senach. Ishé ainm dobert Pa*traic* fair, "Agnus Dei;" *ocus* isé conatig tri itgi coPat*raic* .i. *con*atairmtíasad fograd, *ocus* *co*[na]ruainmnigthi intincth úad, *ocus* andæsta[1] dia ais[s]om *con*digsed for*r*ẽs amaic *Æ*ng*us*a. Is dó sidi rosc*r*ib Pa*traic* aipgit*ir* isindláu roordned epsc*op* Senach.

Folamadair Pa*traic* *con*gab*ad* cath*air* icc Achad Fobair: *con*erbart,

Dogegaind
anad sund for bicc feraind,[2]
íar timcell cell is dobur,
or*am* lobur ní regaind.

[Rorádi int-aingel fri Patraic[3]]

Bid lat cech ní imrega
cech tír cit réidi reba
etir sleiḃe is cella,
etir glenda is feda.
íar timcell cell is dobur
ciasalobar nórega.

Is ann sin forácaib Pat*raic* da bratán isindtip*r*ait' 'nambethaid, *ocus* beiti cob*ráth*. [: ut ipse dixit.[4]]

Mo[5] dá bratán cen terbba
cengta f*ri* srotha sirti,
cen caingin is cen cinta
biat aingil impu inti.

Luid Pa*traic* hiCruachán Aigli dia sathairn initi. Luid int-aṅgel día accallaim, *ocus* asbe*r*t friss: "Ní ta-b*air* Dia duit a *con*naigi, ol is trom leis *ocus* is talchar *ocus* it móra na itgi." "In fair dofuit leiss?" olPat*raic*. "Is fair," olintangel. "IS fair dofuit lemsa,"

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[1] anduesta, E.
[2] feraind, E.
[3] Sic, E.
[4] Sic, E.
[5] Na, E.

Patrick went to the men of Umall, to Achad Fobair. There bishop Senach was ordained. This is the name that Patrick conferred on him: 'Agnus Dei;' and he it is that begged three boons of Patrick, namely, that he should not transgress (while) in orders; and that the place should not be named from him[1]; and that what was wanting to his age should be added to[2] the age of his son Oengus. For him it is that Patrick wrote an alphabet on the day that bishop Senach was ordained.

Patrick . . . . that he should take a city[3] at Achad Fobuir, and he said:

"I would choose
To remain here on a little land,
After faring around churches and waters,
Since I am weary, I would not go."

The angel said to Patrick:

"Thou shalt have everything round which thou shalt go,
Every land
Both mountains and churches,
Both glens and woods,
After faring around churches and waters,[4]
Though thou art weary, (to which) thou shalt go."

Then Patrick left two salmon in the well alive, and they will abide (there) for ever.

My two salmon without separation,
Who go against . . . streams:
Without dealing and without sins,
Angels will abide with them in it.

Then Patrick went unto Cruachan Aigle on Saturday of Whitsuntide. The angel came to commune with him, and said to him: "God gives thee not what thou demandest, because it seems to him excessive and obstinate, and great are the requests." "Is that His pleasure?" saith Patrick. "It is," saith the angel. "Then this is *my*

[1] 'Sicut alias moris erat in populo isto,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 137.

[2] *Sic* Mr. Hennessy. Lit. 'should come on.'

[3] Mr. Hennessy: 'Patirck desired truly to erect a *see*,' as if the text had *catháir* = cathedra.

[4] 'fastnesses,' Mr. Hennessy.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13 b. 2.

olPa*traic*, niregsa assin crú[ach]ansa combamarbh no*con*dartait*er* na uili itgi."

Bái iar*um* Pát*raic* co*n*olc*us* m*en*man iCruachán cen dig, cen biad, o die ṡathairn initi codia sath*airn* cásc fochosmailius Móissi m*aice* Amrai; arroptar cosmaili inilib. Rosagaill[1] Dia díblínaib asintenid: *secht* fich*it* bl*iad*an anæs diblínaib: isinderb anadnacol diblin*aib*.

Hifo*r*ciund t*ra* in .xl. laithi sin *ocus* in .xl. aidchi rolinad fair inslíab diénlaithib dubaib *conná con*gain[2] nem nátal*main*. Gabais salmu escaine foraib. Ní lot*ar* úad airi. Dofo*r*bartt[3] fergg iar*um* fríu. B*en*aid achlocc f*o*raib cocualat*ar* fir Er*enn* aguth *ocus* foceirt fo*r*ru commebaid ass ab*er*nn, *con*idé sin Bernán Brigte. Ciid iar*um* Pat*raic* comba fliuch[4] aagaid *ocus* achassal arabelaib. Ní tainic demon tír Er*enn* iarsin cocend *secht* mbl*iadan ocus secht* mís *ocus secht* lá *ocus secht* naidchi. Luid intang*e*l iar*um* do chomdídnad[5] Pa*traic ocus* glanais incasail, *ocus* dobert énlaithi gela immon C*ru*achán *ocus* nocantais ceula bindi dó. "Dob*er*ausa[6] alin ucut," olintangel, "de anmannaib apéin, *ocus* aní rosaig dosuil fo*r*amuir." "Nímaiti damsa innísin," olPa*traic*, "Ní cían rosaig [mu ṡúil] fo*r*sanmuir."[7] "Rotbía da*no* it*er* muir *ocus* tír," olintangel. Patricius dixit:

"Attágar techt hicruaich cruind,
druing cen c*rabud* armo cinn:
romgab ecla f*ri* sét sell
deich *cét* cenn ic tac*ra* f*r*im.

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[1] rosaccill, E.
[2] conabaca cungeuin, E.
[3] Doforbairt, E.
[4] combuliuch, E.
[5] comdignad, R.; chomdignad, E.
[6] Doberasu, E.
[7] musuil forsamuir, E.

pleasure (saith Patrick), I will not go from this Rick till I am dead or till all the requests are granted to me.'

Then Patrick abode in Cruachan in much displeasure,[1] without drink, without food, from Shrove Saturday to Easter Saturday, after the manner of Moses son of Amra, for they were alike in many things. To both God spake out of the fire. Six score years was the age of them both. The burial-place of each of them is uncertain.

Now at the end of those forty days and forty nights the mountain was filled[2] with black birds, so that he knew not heaven nor earth. He sang maledictive psalms at them. They left him not because of this. Then his anger grew against them. He strikes his bell at them, so that the men of Ireland heard its voice, and he flung it at them, so that its gap broke out of it, and that (bell) is 'Brigit's Gapling.'[3] Then Patrick weeps till his face and his chasuble in front of him were wet. No demon came to the land of Erin after that till the end of seven years and seven months and seven days and seven nights. Then the angel went to console Patrick, and cleansed the chasuble, and brought white birds around the Rick, and they used to sing sweet melodies for him. "Thou shalt bring," saith the angel, "yon number of souls out of pain, and all that (can fill the space which) thine eye reaches over sea." "That is not a boon (?) to me," saith Patrick: "not far doth mine eye reach over the sea." "Then thou shalt have both sea and land," saith the angel. Patrick said:

"I fear to go into the round Rick:
Troops without godliness (are there) ahead of me:
Fear hath seized me against . . .
Ten hundred heads contending against me.

[1] Lit. with badness of mind.
[2] Lit. filled on him.
[3] '*Bernan-Brigidæ* .i. fractum Brigidæ,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 138.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 13 b. 2.

Fir duba *congraine* dét
*con*dath óc ossruibnib rád,
téora míli derba déc
deich *cét* cecha mili atát."[1]

"INfail naill[2] atchota [fo. 14 a. 1.] dam cenmothá iní-sin?" olPa*traic*. "Fail," ol intang*el*, "mórfeisser[3] cacha sat*uirn*[4] dotab*airt* apíanaib If*irn* cobráth." "Ma[5] do-b*er*ad ní dam," olPa*traic*, "mo dá fer déc." "Rotbia," ol-intang*el*, "*ocus* dingaib doncrúachan." "Nidingeb" [ol Pát*raic*[6]], "ol romchráded *con*domdigdider. INfail naill di*no* dob*er*thar dam?" olPatr*aic*. "Fail," ol intang*el*, "mórfeisser[7] cecha[8] dardáin *ocus* .xii. cacha[9] sath*airn* duit apían*aib*; *ocus* dingaib dinc*ru*achan." "Ní din-geb," ol Pa*traic*, "ol romchráided *con*domdigdider. IN-fail naill atchotar dam?" olPa*traic*. "Fail," ol intain-gel, "muir mór do tuidecht t*ar* hÉr*inn secht* mblia*dna* riambráth; *ocus* dingaib dinchr*uachán*." "Ní dingéb" [olPatraic[10]], olromcr*á*ided *con*domdig*dider*. "INfail innaill *con*nesta[11]?" olintangel. "Fil," olPa*traic*, "Sax-ain ná rotr*e*bat Erind ar áiss nách ar éicin cén mbéosa fo*r*nim." "Rotbía," olintang*el*, "*ocus* dingaib din *Cru*-ach*an*." "Ní ding*éb*," olPa*traic*, "ol romc*ra*ided con-domdig*dider*."

"INfail innaill atchota dam?" olPa*traic*. "Fail," olintaingel, "nách óen géb*as* do immun húan t*rá*th co araili, níbá péne na réigi." "Isfota intimmun *ocus* isdoraid," olPa*traic*. "Nachóen géb*as*," olintang*el*, "ota

[1] E. omits these quatrains.
[2] na aill, E.
[3] mórseiser, E.
[4] cech sáthairnn, E. = the Old-British *pop Saturan* of the Tertia Vita ii. 88.
[5] mád, E.
[6] Sic E.
[7] morseisser, E.
[8] cech, E.
[9] cech, E.
[10] Sic E.
[11] naill cóndesta, E.

Dark men with hideousness of teeth,
With the colour of death and . . .
Thirteen sure thousands,
Ten hundreds in every thousand are they."

"Is there aught else that He granteth to me besides that?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel. "Seven persons on every Saturday till Doom (are) to be taken out of Hell's pains." "If he should give aught to me," saith Patrick, ["let] my twelve men [be given]." "Thou shalt have [them"], saith the angel, "and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed. Is there aught else, then, that will be given to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel, "thou shalt have out of [Hell's] pains seven every Thursday and twelve every Saturday; and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed. Is there aught else that is granted to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel: "a great sea to come over Ireland seven years before the Judgment; and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," says Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed." "Is there aught else that thou wouldst demand?" saith the angel. "There is," saith Patrick, "that the Saxons should not dwell in Ireland, by consent or perforce, so long as I abide in heaven." "Thou shalt have this," saith the angel, "and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed."

"Is there aught else he granteth to me?" saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel: "every one who shall sing thy hymn, from one watch to the other,[1] shall not have pain or torture." "The hymn is long and difficult," saith Patrick. "Every one who shall sing it from

[1] 'singulis diebus,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 138.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 14 a. 1.

'Christus illum' co dead, *ocus* náchóen dob*era* ní itanmaim, *ocus* nachoen donnair[1] aithr*igi* inEirinn, ní ría aainim If*ern*;[2] *ocus* ding*aib* don Chr*uachan*." "Ní dingeb," olPat*raic*, "ol romchr*áided con*dom*digdider*. INfail naill?" olPa*traic*. "Fail," ol intaingel, "fer cacha brothairni fil f*or*t chassail dobéra apianaib Día láithi brátha." "Cía," ol Pat*raic*, "dogenai sæthar arDía dinoebaib olch*ena* nách tib*era* insin dochum nime? Níí gébsa[3] t*ra* inni sin," ol Pat*raic*. "C*es*t, cid nogéba?" olintang*el*. "Ni *anse*," olPat*raic*: "morfeisser[4] cec*h*a brothairni bíass f*or*sin chassail dothabairt aIf*irn* dia laithi br*atha*." "Rot [fo. 14 a. 2] bía," olintang*el*, "ocus ding*aib* dinchruac*han*." "Ní ding*éb*," olPa*traic*. "Gebthar dolám," olintang*el* f*r*iss. "Acht má dothisad Arddrí secht nime dó, níregsa,[6] ol *rom*chr*áided con*domdig*dide*r." "INfail naill *con*desta?" olintang*el*. "F*il*," olPa*traic*, "alla ṁbeite nadá rigsuide déc[7] hisleib Sioin *ocus* ṁbeiti na ceithri srotha teneth immonslíab, *ocus* mbeiti na téora muntera and .i. munt*er* nime *ocus* [muinter[8]] tal*man ocus* [muinter[8]] If*irn*, corab meissi fein b*as* breithem f*or* feraib hE*r*end allásin." "Bes ní etar forsinCoimdid[9] innísin," olintang*el*. "Mane etar húadsom," olPat*raic*, "ni étastar huaimsi da*no* techt asin Ch*ruachan*sa ondíu cobr*ath*, *ocus* cid amein bíaid comét húaimsi and."

Luid intang*el* dochum nime. Luid Pat*raic* do oif*r*iunn. Tainic intang*el* trath n*ón*a. ["Cindus sin?"

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[1] donair, E.
[2] anIfrind, E.
[3] geba, R.; gebsa, E.
[4] morseiser, E.
[5] cech, E.
[6] E. omits this and the last preceding sentence.
[7] deáac, E.
[8] Sic E.
[9] Sic E.; coimdi, R.

'*Christus illum*' to the end, and every one who shall give aught in thy name, and every one who shall perform (?) penitence in Ireland, his soul shall not go to Hell; and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick, "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed. Is there aught else," saith Patrick. "There is," saith the angel: "a man for every hair on thy chasuble thou shalt bring out of pains on the day of Doomsday." "Which of the other saints who labour for God will not bring that (number) into heaven? Verily I will not take that," saith Patrick. "Question, what wilt thou take?" saith the angel. "Not hard to say," saith Patrick. "Seven persons for every hair that abides on the chasuble are to be taken out of Hell on the day of Doomsday." "Thou shalt have this," saith the angel; "and (now) get thee gone from the Rick." "I will not get me gone," saith Patrick. "Thy hand will be seized,"[1] saith the angel to him. "Except (only) if the high King of seven heavens should come, I will not get me gone," [saith Patrick,] "since I have been tormented, till I am blessed." "Is there aught else that thou wouldst demand?" saith the angel. "There is," saith Patrick. "On the day that the twelve thrones shall be on the Mount (Zion), when the four rivers of fire shall be around the mountain, and the three households shall be there, to wit, the household of heaven and (the household) of earth and (the household) of hell, let me myself be judge over the men of Ireland on that day." "Assuredly," saith the angel, "that is not got from the Lord." "Unless it is got from Him," saith Patrick, "departure from this Rick shall not be got from me, from to-day till Doom; and, what is more, I shall leave a guardian there."

The angel went to heaven. Patrick went to mass. The angel came (back) at nones. "How is that?" saith

[1] This phrase seems to mean "thou wilt be driven away or expelled."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 14 a. 2.

olPat*raic*. "Indas," ol intangel.[1]] "Rogadatar[2] na huli dúli, aicsidi *ocus* nemaicsidi, im na dá apst*al* déac, *ocus* atchotasat. Asrub*airt* inCoimdiu níthánic *ocus* ni ticfa indeg*aid* nanapst*al* fer bud[4] amra manip[5] do chrúas. Anrogad rotbía. Ben do chlocc," olintang*el*. "Firfid glés[6] fo*r*t donim[7] coticfe glúne *ocus* bid cosec*rad* dḟeraib[8] dolucht inna hEirend huli ite*r* biu *ocus* marbu." "B*ennacht* fo*r*sinríg socherndi[9] dorat," [ol Patraic;[10]] "*ocus* dingébthar dinChrúach*an*."[11]

Luith Pat*raic* iar*um* combói oc Ach*ud* Fobair, *ocus* dorigne orddu na cásc and. Atát t*ra* cométaidi domunt*ir* Pat*raic* indErind inambeth*aid* béuss. Atá fer húad hiCrúach*an* Aigli: roclunetar guth achluic *ocus* nifogabar. *Ocus* atá fer huad inGulpain Gurt.[12] Atá intress fer [húad[13]] f*ri* Cluain nIraird anair *ocus* aṡeitigh. Dogénsat óigedecht do Pat*raic* hiflaith Loeg*uiri* m*aicc* Neill. Iss*ed* anǽss cetna attát *ocus* beitit cobr*áth*. [fo. 14 b. 1.] Atá[14] fer húad inDruimnib Breg. Atá fer aili huad hi Sleib Slánge][15] .i. Domongart m*acc* Echach: isé tocéba martra Pat*raic* gair riambrath. Issí achell Ráith Murbuilc hitæb Sléibi Slánga,[16] ocus bíid loracc *con*atimthucc *ocus* chilornn cormma arachind[17] arcach cáisc cotab*air* do æss oif*rin*[n] die lúain cásc dog*res*.

Ara Pátraic da*no* aṭbath *ocus* roadnacht etir Chr[u]achán *ocus* muir.

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[1] Sic E.
[2] Sic E.; Rogatat*ar*, R.
[3] inna, E.
[4] bad, E.
[5] manipad, E.
[6] gless, E.
[7] denim, E.
[8] E. omits.
[9] soicherni, E.
[10] Sic E.
[11] Chruaich, E.
[12] in gulban ghuirt, E.
[13] Sic E.
[14] hita, E.
[15] Sic E.
[16] slaingi, E.
[17] arachiunn, E.

Patrick. "Thus," saith the angel. "All creatures, visible and invisible, including the twelve apostles, besought (the Lord) and they have obtained. The Lord said, 'There hath not come, and there will not come, after the apostles, a man more admirable, were it not for thy hardness.' What thou hast prayed for, thou shalt have. Strike thy bell," saith the angel. "A . . . will . . . on thee from heaven, so that thou shalt fall on (thy) knees, and there will be a consecration of the men of the folk of Ireland, both living and dead." Saith Patrick: "A blessing on the bountiful King who hath given; and the Rick shall (now) be departed from."

Then Patrick went till he was biding at Achad Fobair, and there he celebrated [1] Easter. There are, moreover, keepers (belonging) to Patrick's household alive in Ireland still. There is a man from him in Cruachan Aigle—they hear the voice of his bell and he is not found—and there is a man from him in Gulban Guirt. There is the third man from him to the east of Cluain Iraird, together with his wife. They showed hospitality to Patrick in the reign of Loegaire son of Níall. They are, and they will abide till Doom, of the same age. There is a man from him in Drummann Breg. There is another man from him in Sliab Slánge, namely, Domongart son of Echaid: he it is that will upraise Patrick's relics shortly before Doom. His church is Rath Murbuile on the side of Sliab Slánge, and there is a *lárac* (fork) with its surroundings, and a pitcher of beer before him on every Easter, and he gives them to mass-folk on Easter Tuesday always.

So Patrick's charioteer died and was buried between the Rick and the sea.

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[1] Lit. he performed the orders of Easter. The remainder of the paragraph has nothing corresponding in *Tr. Th.* p. 138.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 14 b. 1.

Dodeoch*aid* Pa*traic* iar*um* itír Corcuthemne, ocus robaitsi ilmili do dúinib and, *ocus* forothaig .iii.[1] ecl*asæ* .i. teora Túaga.

Luid Pa*traic* dothop*ur* Ḟindmaigi .i. Slán aainm.[2] Atrubrad f*ri*Pa*traic* *con*donóraigtís[3] ingeinti intopur amal dea. Cethrochair im*morro* intopur *ocus* cloch cethrochoir f*or*abéulu; *ocus* rocreitset intóes bæth *con*derna alaili fáith marb bibliothicam sibi in aqua sub petra ut delavaret[4] ossa sua semper, quia timuit ignem. Et zelauit Patricius de Deo uiuo, dicens: "Non uere dicitis, quod rex aquarum fons erat." Hoc enim non cum eis habuit rex aquarum. Et dixit Patricius pétram eliuari, et non potuerunt. Eliuauit autem eam Patrici[us] et Cannechus, quem babtizauit. Et dicit, "Erit semen tuum benedictum in sæcula." Cell Tog itír Corcu Themne, is[ie]di rofothaig Cainnech epsc*op* manach P*atraic*.

Fecht doPat*raic* ocimtecht immaigib m*aicc* Ercæ .i. inDichuil *ocus* Erchuil, at*con*dairc adnacul mór indib .i. fiche t*ra*iged archét inna fut. Postulantibus autem fratribus ut suscitaretur[5] dorodiusaig Pa*traic* íarsin inmarb bói isind adnacul *ocus* roiarfacht scéla[6] [14 b. 2] dó .i. quando, et quomodo, et quo genere, et quo nomine esset. Respondit sibi, dicens, "Ego sum Cass m*acc* Glaiss qui fui subulcus Lugair ríg[7] Iruate, *ocus* romgon fiann m*aicc* [Con[8]] in regno Coirpri Niodfer. Isin cétmad bl*iadain* atáu cosindíu." Ronbathis Pat*raic*, *ocus* dochuaid inna adnacul iterum.

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[1] Sic E.; ui, R.
[2] E. omits.
[3] cononóraigtis, E.
[4] dealbaret, R. and E.
[5] MS. *sus*cituretus.
[6] Sic E.; séla, R.
[7] Sic E.; rí, R.
[8] Sic E.

Then Patrick went into the country of Corcuthemne, and baptized many thousands of people there, and he founded three [1] churches, namely, the three Tuaga.

Patrick went to the well of Findmag. Slán [1] is its name. They told Patrick that the heathen honoured the well as if it were a god. Now the well was four-cornered, and there was a four-cornered stone above it. Now the foolish folk believed that a certain dead prophet had made a *bibliotheca* [2] for himself under the stone in the water, that it might wash his bones always, because he feared the fire. And Patrick was jealous for the living God, and said, "Ye say untruly that this fountain was King of Waters," for he did not, as they did, hold it to be king of waters. And Patrick bade them lift up the stone, and they were unable to do so. But Patrick, along with Cainnech, whom he baptized, lifted it. And he saith (to Cainnech): "Thy seed will be blessed for ever." Cell Tog, in the country of Corcu-themne, it is this that Bishop Cainnech, Patrick's monk, founded.

Once, as Patrick was travelling in the plains of the son of Erc, namely in Dichuil and Erchuil, he beheld therein a huge grave, to wit, a hundred and twenty feet in length. The brethren asking *ut susciturelur*, Patrick then brought to life the dead man who was biding in the grave, and asked tidings of him, namely, when and how [he got there], and of what race and of what name he was. He answered Patrick, saying: "I am Cass, son of Glass; and I was the swineherd of Lugar, king of Iruata,[3] and Macc Con's soldiery slew me in the reign of Coirpre Niafer. A hundred years have I been here to-day." [4] Patrick baptized him, and he went again into his grave.

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[1] .i. salutiferum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 138.

[2] seems to mean a coffin here. According to Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 139, this prophet was a 'Magus, qui aquam ut numen propitium colebat, et ignem habebat ut infestum.'

[3] regis Norwegiæ, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 139.

[4] Lit. "In the hundredth year am I till to-day."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 14 b. 2.

Quis comprehendere ualet[1] modum diligentie orationis eius? omnes nanque ψalmos et ymnos et apocalipsin ac omnia cantica spiritualia[2] scripturarum cotidie decantabat siue in úno loco [manens] siue in itenere gradiens.

O esspartain oidchi ṅdomnaig co anteirt día lúain níteíged Pat*raic* assinmaigin iṁbíth. Olaili domnach[3] do Pat*raic* immaig inhúair [f]escuir, corosnig flechad[4] mór [isin talmainsin *ocus* nirinig[5]] isinluc irabai Pá*traic*, sicut in concha et vellere Gedioni accederat.

Ba béss do Pat*raic* dobered croiss Cr*ist* tairis cofachét cechlái *ocus* cech naidchi, *ocus* notheged diacho*n*air cid míli céimm*en*d nobeith inchross *acht* conaicced no cofessadh abeith afoc*r*aib[6] cid hicarpat no f*or* euch nobeith nochiṅged dochum cecha croissi. Fecht and olaili laithi[7] rosechmaill P*átraic* tadall croissi robói f*or*sét dóu, *ocus* nífit*ir* arambeith and. Rorádi aara f*r*iss immdíud lái.[8] "F*or*ácbaiss chroiss indíu f*or*t *chon*air cen tadall." Forácaib Pat*raic* atech nóiged *ocus* apraind, *ocus* luid f*or*cúlu docum na croissi. INtan [tra[9]] robai P*atraic* ocairnaigthi oconchrois, "Adnacul so," olPat*raic*. "Cia roadnacht sunn?" F*r*issrogart asind adnac*ul*, "Geintlidi truag," ol sé, "missi [*ocus*[10]] romadnacht sund. [15 a. 1.] An airet ropsa béu robá ocaimless moanma cotorchar occai, *ocus* romadnacht[11] sund íarsin." "Cid tucai[t]," olPat*raic*, "airdi nacr*ist*aide[12] doṡuidig*ud* fortadnacul .i. inchros?"

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[1] MS. uelet.
[2] Sic E.; spirituali, R.
[3] Olailiu domnuch, E.
[4] flechud, E.
[5] Sic E.
[6] hifochraib, E.
[7] laithiu, E.
[8] indiudlai, E.
[9] Sic E.
[10] Sic E.
[11] Sic E.; roadnacht, R.
[12] airdina cristaigechta, E.

Quis comprehendere valet modum diligentiæ orationis ejus? For all the psalms and hymns and the apocalypse[1] and all spiritual canticles of the scriptures he used to chant every day, whether remaining in one place or while going on a journey.

From vespers on Sunday night until the third (Roman) hour[2] on Monday, Patrick used not to go out of the place wherein he was biding. (And) *on a* certain Sunday Patrick was afield at the hour of evening, and a great rain poured on that earth, but it poured not on the place wherein Patrick was staying, as happened in the case of Gideon's shell and fleece.

It was a custom of Patrick's to make the sign of the cross of Christ over himself a hundred times every day and every night. And whether he were in a chariot or on a horse, he used to fare to every cross, and he would go from his path, even though the cross were [distant] a thousand paces, provided he saw it or knew that it was near. Now once, on a certain day, Patrick omitted to visit a cross that was on his road, and he knew not that it was there. At the end of the day his charioteer said to him, "Thou hast left a cross to-day on thy path without visiting it." [Thereupon] Patrick left the guest-house and his dinner, and went back to the cross. While Patrick was praying at the cross, "This is a grave," saith Patrick: "who hath been buried here?" Out of the grave [the corpse] answered: "A wretched heathen," saith he, "am I. I was buried here. Whilst I was alive I was hurting my soul, and I fell while doing so,[3] and I was then buried here." "What was the cause," saith Patrick, "of setting on thy grave the symbol of the Christians, namely, the cross?" "Not hard to say,"

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[1] totum Psalterium cum . . . . Apocalipsi S. Ioannis,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 139.

[2] 'usque ad horam tertiam feriæ secundæ sequentis,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 139, *i.e.*, 6.58 at the summer solstice, 9.2 at the winter solstice.

[3] *Lit.* at it.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 15 a. 1.

"Ni *anse*," olsé. "Alaili banscál robái hitír chíana, *ocus* am*a*cc roadnacht sund isintírsi inahécmais. Cotanic atirib cianna,[1] corosuidigh inchross forind adnaculsa.[2] Indarlca isfor adnac*ul* amaic dorat: ní ermadair lasintoirrsi aichne adnac*ail* am*a*icc." "Is airisin roscchmall*us*sa incroiss," olPat*raic* ".i. abith f*or*adnac*ul* ingentlid*i*." Tuarcabad [la [3]] Pat*raic* inchross [4] iarsin f*or*adnac*ul* in m*aic*c chr*ist*aidi.

Fecht and do ara Pat*raic* testatar aeich airi. Ní chóimnacair afogbail lá doirchi na oidchi. Tuarcaib Pat*raic* aláim súas. Roin[ṡ]orch*aig*set achúic meúir inmag nuli amal bítis cóic sutralla,[5] *ocus* rof*r*itha [6] naheich fochétóir.

Luit[h] Pat*raic* tarMúcd coÁu Amolguda. Dolot*ar* arachenn .xii. filii Àmalgada m*aic*c Fíach*r*ach m*aic*c Echoch, Oeng*us*, Ferg*us*, Fedilmid, Endæ Cromm, Enna Cúllomm, Corbm*ac*, Coirp*r*e, Echaid Diainim, Ech*ai*d Oenáu, Eogan Coir, Dubchonall, Ailill Ainechscabaille. Bat*ar* m*aic*c Amalg*ada* ic [7] imcosnam immonrígi. Cethir chenél fichet [*in marg.* .i. senccncla] bat*ar* isintír. Ro[f́]rithbruithset coggabtais [8] f*or*ru fer co foranmmaim doríg. Dobe*r*t di*no*[9] Oeng*us* f*or*anmand f*or*abrathri.[10] Isé ropu huallcha [11] dicl*ainn* Amalg*ada* intOeng*us*. Fugellsat Lóigairi m*ac*c Neill m*aic*c Echach rí Temrach *ocus* abrath*air* .i. Eogan m*ac*c Neill.

Lot*ar* m*aic*c Amalg*ada* do Temr*aig* in .xii. curribus sed in libr-[fo. 15 a. 2]-is Patricíí inuenitur quod exierunt in iudicium tantum septem fratres de [e]is. Fuaratar falti ocinríg. Dalta intÓeng*us* isinTemraig doLoeg*ui*ri. Gaibthir failti sundriud friss and. Guidid Óing*us* inna-

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[1] ciana, E.

[2] formadnaculsa ('on my grave'), E.

[3] Tuarcabad, R.; tuargaba lá, E.

[4] in croissi, E.

[5] ṡutralla, E.

[6] fófritha, E.

[7] oc, E.

[8] congabtais, E.

[9] didu, E.

[10] forabraithre, E.

[11] húalchu, E.

[12] exierint, E.

saith he. "A certain woman was dwelling in a distant land, and in her absence her son was buried here in this country. And she came from distant lands and set the cross on this grave. It seemed to her that she put it on her son's grave. She was unable through the grief to recognise the grave of her son." Saith Patrick, "That is why I passed the cross, because it is on the heathen's grave." Then the cross was set up by Patrick on the grave of the Christian son.

It once befell Patrick's charioteer that his horses were wanting unto him. He could not find them owing to the darkness of the night. Patrick raised up his hand: his five fingers illumined the whole plain as if they were five lamps, and the horses were found at once.

Patrick went across the [river] Moy to the Húi Amalgada. There came to meet him twelve sons of Amalgaid son of Fiachra, son of Echaid, [namely] Oengus, Fergus, Fedilmid, Endae the Bent, Endae Bare-poll, Corbmac, Coirpre, Echaid the Spotless, Echaid One-ear, Eogan the Just,[1] Dubchonall, Ailill Kettle-face. The sons of Amalgaid were contending about the kingship There were twenty-four tribes (i.e. old tribes) in the land. They refused to take over them as king a man with a nickname. Then Oengus gave nicknames to his brothers.[2] The haughtiest of Amalgaid's sons was this Oengus. Loegaire son of Niall, son of Echaid, King of Tara, and his brother Eogan, son of Niall, adjudged [the dispute].

The sons of Amalgaid went to Tara in twelve chariots; but in the books of Patrick it is found that only seven brothers of them submitted to the judgment. They found welcome with the king at Tara. Oengus was a foster-son of Loegaire's. [So] a special welcome was given to him there. Oengus begs the doorkeepers

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[1] Eochadius alter, Eugenius Corr, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 140.

[2] ut sic populi ab eis auerterentur animi, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 140.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 15 a. 2.

doirside arnatailctis isin dún[1] *Con*ull m*acc* abrathar .i. m*acc* Enda Cruimb. Roimecl*aig* Oeng*us* *tre*bairi ingilla[2] octac*ra*[3] afir. Atchodai[4] Oeng*us* insein ona dorrsirib. Ambói *Con*ull f*ri* less anechtair, rochúala guth cluic Pat*raic* otip*rai* Pa*traic* oc*on*dún. Téit *Con*all chuccai. B*en*nachais do. "Aclerig," ol sé, "infetarsa[5] ced belrai inso fil if*or*aithmet[6] lemmsa, 'Hibernensés omnes clamant ad te pueri,' et reliqua. rogabsat dí ingin abroind amathar in nostris regionib*us* dicentes." "Meisi dorograd sin," olPat*raic*, "*ocus* rochualasa intan robá ininnsib mara Toirrén. Et nescíui utrum in mé, án extra [me] locuta sunt uerba. Et íbo tecum in regionem tuam babtizare, docére, euangel[i]zare."

INterrogat autem Patricius qua causa venit *Con*all, *ocus* roaisned *Con*all doPat*raic* infochun, [et] dixit naroléicct[h] isinTemr*aig*. Cui dixit Patricius. "INg*re*dire nunc, ianuis apertis, et adii Eogan m*acc* Neill, amicum mihi fidelem, qui te adiuvabit, capiens tu o[c]culte mér tanaissi aloctanán signum inter nos semper." Et factum est síc. "Fochen," ol Eugan, "cid is toisc do Pa*traic*?" Ad*rubairt* *Con*all, "fortachtaig dam." Toracart *Con*all íar*um*, "Masu aróitid[7] t*ra*," olsé, "istacartha hitig ríg *ocus* isgabtha ferund ismé is[8] óam. 'Másu aráiss [fo. 15 b. 1] mathar, [is]sinem[9] ann Énda Cromm." Quibus Loigairi respondit, "erlabra dontsinnsiur ém," olsé, "*ocus* acallaim. Diatarta im*morro* séuta dochach *ocus* moine,[10] nigataim airi."

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[1] isandún, E.
[2] E. omits.
[3] oc tacru, E.
[4] adcottai, E.
[5] infetarsu, E.
[6] iforaithmiut, E.
[7] óitig, R.
[8] as, E.
[9] assinem, E.
[10] seótu 7 moni duchach, E.

not to let into the fortress Conall his brother's son, namely, the son of Enda the Bent. Oengus dreaded the astuteness of the lad in arguing his right. Oengus obtained that from the doorkeepers. While Conall was outside the court he heard the voice of Patrick's bell from Patrick's well by the fortress. Conall comes to him. Patrick blessed him. "O cleric," saith he, "knowest thou what language is this that is in my memory—'All the Irish children cry unto thee, etc.,' which two girls sang out of their mother's womb in our territories?" "It is I who was called thus," saith Patrick. "And I heard it when I was biding in the isles of the Tyrrhene sea. And I knew not whether the words were spoken within me or outside me. And I will go with thee into thy country, to baptize, to instruct, and to preach the gospel."

Then Patrick asks for what cause Conall had come, and Conall declared to Patrick the cause. He said that he had not been let into Tara. *Cui dixit Patricius:* "Enter now, the doors being open, and go to Eogan son of Niall, a faithful friend of mine, who will help thee if thou take secretly the finger next his little finger, for this is always a token between us." *Et factum est sic.* "Welcome," saith Eogan, "what is Patrick's desire?" Said Conall: "Help me." Conall argued then: "If indeed it be according to age that one argues in a palace and land is taken, it is I that am youngest. If it be according to my father's age, (then) Enda the Bent is the oldest therein." *Quibus* Loegaire *respondit.* "Verily," saith he, "speech is to the oldest, and converse. Howbeit, if jewels and treasures have been given to any one, I take them not away from him."[1]

[1] Colgan is more intelligible: Post hæc Conallus causam dixit coram Rege; et perorando dixit: si juventutis floridaeque ætatis, quæ patriam viribus tueri posset, spectanda sit ratio, sibi, qui in hoc genere omnes adspirantes superaret, regimen esse conferendum: si verò senectutis et justitiæ, patrem eius, omnibus esse præferendum, qui reliquos fratres titulo primogenituræ and maturitate judicii superaret. Unde motus eius rationibus Laogarius Rex, licet prope invitus, adiudicavit patri eius paternum solum et solium modò jura suffragantibus persolui consueta, prius persoluat."—*Tr. Th.* 140.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 15, b. 1.

Lot*ar* ass *ocus* Pat*raic* cum eis, *ocus* dorat Pat*raic* acharp*at* do *Con*oll combu e intres carp*at* deac. Lot*ar* iarsin asét *ocus* nipa chen dóib laOeng*us* domacc (.i. do *Con*all) abrathar *ocus* doPat*raic*. Doleicc f*ri*a dábr*athair* .i. Ferg*us* *ocus* Fedilmid marbad Patr*aic*, *ocus* scarsit fóu *ocus* Loeg*ai*ri .i. iarná eráil fair do Loeg*ai*ri.[1] Lot*ar*[2] fathuaid do ascnam atíri. Bá airm inna fingaili laÓeng*us* adénam a Corand.[3] Roint[ṡ]amlastar Ferg*us* [suan. "Fir," ol Óengus, "Ferghas[4]] cend for aithin." Fémthit abrathir anasb*er*tis. "Ni mairfem innendaic[5] (.i. Patr*aic*): ní dingnem[6] da*no* fing*aili* for*ar*[m]brat*hair*." Doluid Oeng*us* díb mbuidnib aracend díamarbad *ocus* dadrúid leiss .i. Reon *ocus* Rechred dochenel[7] Foelan Fennedo. Ní móu míli it*ir* inport asanacai Pat*raic* innanaimtiu ón chrois fri crois Pat*raic* aníar co cill Forcland. Asb*er*t Réon dú an-[8] aicciged Pat*raic* nascluicfed[9] intalam. Atfess do Pat*raic* anísin. "ISmeissi ém," olPat*raic*, "citanaccigi." Ut uidit Patricius illum sloicsi intalam sís. "Creitfe," olsé, "mánumanachar." Focheirtt intalam súas combuí osnaibgaithaib, cotorchair sís leithbéo. Crédidit et baptizatus est. Fochoissled da*no* súas Roéchred, *ocus* dolécced anúass commemaid achend f*ri*sinailich *ocus* noloisci[10] tene dinim. Ata and Ail inDruad: itá[11] cell ann. Cross Pát*raic* aainm,[12] f*ri* Caill Fochlad anair. Telach innanDrúad aainm inphoirt hiraba[1] buiden inna[n]genti f*ri*cro[15. b. 2]-iss Pat*raic* aníar. Glaiss Chonaig et*ar*ra.[14]

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[1] Loigairiu, E.
[2] Dolotar, E.
[3] hi Corunn, E.
[4] Sic E.
[5] innennacc, E.
[6] dignem, E.
[7] dochenial, E.
[8] in, E.
[9] nasluicfed, E.
[10] nollosci, E.
[11] ata, E
[12] a aainm, R.
[13] irraba, E.
[14] etarru, E.

They went thence and Patrick with them, and Patrick bestowed his chariot on Conall, so that it was the thirteenth chariot. Then they went their way, and Oengus had no affection for them (that is), for Conall his brother's son and for Patrick. He left it to his two brothers, namely, Fergus and Fedilmid, to kill Patrick and Conall; and they (Fergus and Fedilmid) parted from (?) him (Oengus) and Loegaire, that is after he had received his injunction from Loegaire. They went northwards to visit their land. The place in which Oengus had intended to commit the fratricide was in Corann. Fergus simulated sleep. "True," saith Oengus, "Fergus . . . ." His brothers refuse [to do] what they said. "We will not kill the innocent (namely, Patrick): we will not, moreover, commit fratricide on our brother." Oengus went with two bands against them to kill them, and he had two wizards, namely, Reon and Rechred, of the tribe of Foelan the Warrior. It was not more than a mile between the place out of which Patrick saw the enemies,—the cross to the west of Patrick's cross,—and[1] Cell Forcland. Reon said that at the place in which he should see Patrick the earth would swallow him (Patrick) up. That was told to Patrick. "Truly," saith Patrick, "it is I that shall first see him." As soon as Patrick saw him the earth swallowed him down. "I will believe," saith he, "if I am saved." The earth flings him up, so that he was above the winds and he fell down half alive. He believed and was baptized. Then Roechred was lifted (?) up (into the air) and was cast down from above so that his head brake against the stone; and fire from heaven burnt (him). There stands the wizard's stone. There is a church there. *Cross Patraic* ('Patrick's Cross') is its name, to the east of the wood of Fochlad. *Telach inna nDruad* ('The Wizards' Hill') is the name of the place wherein was the troop of the heathen to the west of Cross Patraic. Glaiss Conaig is between them. Oen-

[1] Lit. to.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 15, b. 2.

Asbert Óeng*us*, "crettfessa diatódú*s*cthar mofíur" .i. Fedilm[1] ingen Amalg*ada* atbath océin.

Fecht and luid[2] dald arachenn[3] Pat*raic*: tairpthech dondech*uid* laaccobar na íci. Fáithbid fer dimunt*ir* Pat*raic* imbi. "Mo débrod," ol[4]Pat*raic*, "bacub*aid* c'abad[5] t*u*ssu bad dall." Ba[6] slán iar*um* indall *ocus* ba[6] dall inslán. Quod utrumque factum est. Migne is*ed* ainm andí[7] rodallad ann. Ishé indara fer dimunt*ir* Pat*raic* roan in deserto Patri[c]ií uacuo quod est ifarrad natipr*at* oc crois Pat*raic*, *ocus* Domnall[8] intali, cia baræ robúi díasruith fr*íu*. Ruan m*acc* Concnáma ara Amalg*ada*, ishé roícad and. Roi Ruáin ainm ind inaid inroíccad indall, *ocus* islaPat*raic* iar*um*.

Donairthét dabaccach inOchtar[9] Chǽrthin. Cóinsit fr*i*ss andiorp*us* aranainmib, *ocus* baandsa doib imthecht it*ir* anorbe hisleib *ocus* fothiur.[10] Quid plura dicam? Sanati sunt.

Luid do Domnuch Mór ubi est episcopus Muenæ. Luid iar*um* doCrois Pat*raic* ubi venit ad eum[11] Æd Fota m*ac* Echdach m*aic* Oeng*usa*, *ocus* roníc do bacaigi ocintiprait fr*i*crois Pat*raic* aníar qui obtulit ei di damaisc thire fora fothaiged inport; et reliquit duos de familia sua .i. Teloc *ocus* Nemnall.

Uidit Enda magos uolentes occidere Patricium. Dixit filio suo Conallo: "Váde et custodi Patricium

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[1] feidelm, E.
[2] dolluid, E.
[3] arcend, E.
[4] al, E.
[5] ciapad, E.
[6] pa, E.
[7] indi, E.
[8] donnmal, E.
[9] inóchtur, E.
[10] fothuir, E.
[11] Sic E.; eam, R.

gus said: "I will believe if my sister is brought back to life," to wit, Fedlem, daughter of Amalgaid, who had died long ago.

Once a blind man came to meet Patrick. Hastily he went, through the desire of the cure. A man of Patrick's household laughed at him. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it were meet that thou shouldst be the blind man." So the blind became hale and the hale became blind. Mignae[1] is the name of him who was blinded there. He is one of the two men of Patrick's household who remained in the empty Disert Pátraic, *quod est* near the well at Cross Pátraic, and Domnall was the other, though their senior was angry with them. It was Rúan, son of Cú-cnáma, Amalgaid's charioteer, that was healed there. Roi Rúain is the name of the place wherein the blind man was healed, and it belongs to Patrick afterwards.

Two lame men come to him in Óchtar Cáerthin. They complained to him that they were (virtually) disinherited because of their defects, and it was difficult for them to travel between their heritages in mountain and in level land.[2] Why should I say more? They were heard.

Then he went to Domnach Mór, *ubi est* Bishop Mucnae. Then he went to Cross Pátraic, where there came to him Aed the Tall, son of Echaid, son of Oengus, and he healed him of lameness at the well to the west of Cross Pátraic. And Aed offered to him two oxgangs (?) of land whereon the place was founded. And he left there two of his household, namely, Teloc and Nemnall.[3]

Enda saw wizards seeking to slay Patrick, and he said to his son: "Go and take care of Patrick, that the wizards may not slay him." Patrick himself perceived

[1] Midgna, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.
[2] inter montem et planitiem, *ibid.*
[3] Domnaldo, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 15, b. 2.

né magi occiderent illum." Ipse Patricius sensit eos; et combusit ignis etereus eos [in] numero[1] nouem.

Rofothaigest*ar* Pat*raic* cill ṅAlaid, *ocus* ro[ḟ]ácaib[2] fer sruith dia munt*ir* and .i. eps*cop* [fo. 16 a. 1.] Muiredaig.

Robathais Pa*traic* mulieres[3] .i. Crebriu *ocus* Lesru dí ingin Glérann m*aicc* Cumméni. ITé *con*acartatar Pa*traic* abronnaib[4] am*áthar* quando fuit in insolis maris Tyrreni. IT hé ata érlamæ[5] Cille F*or*gland laÁu Amalg*ada* íarMuaid.

Luid hiforraig m*acc* nAmalgodo, et crediderunt ei .uii. filii Amalgodo: immÉnde *ocus* imminrig. Is hisuidiu robathes in mnói torrig *ocus* agein, et suscitauit aliam.

Lottar iar*um* dondḟerta imbái inben marb (.i. Fedilm) alachta Pa*traic* *ocus* *Con*all iar*con*air thís doChill Alaid, Oeng*us*, im*morro*, iarsin *con*air uachtaraig. Recait infert.[6] Dodí*us*saig Pa*traic* inmnói *ocus* amac inabrú, et babtizati sunt ambo in fonte Óenadarcæ[7] .i. dinchnuchai aird bic talman fil inna [ḟ]arrad roainmniged intopur. Et suscitata illa praedicauit turbis de poenis inferni et praemís coeli, et per lacrimas rogauit fratrem suum ut Deo per Patricium crederet,[8] quod factum est, et babtizatus est.[9] Et in illo die .xii. milia babtizati sunt in fonte Oenadarce, ut dicitur:

Baithsithir inoenlaithiu
dá se míli már,
im *secht* m*accu* Amalg*ada*,
is*ed* ón ba slán.

xii. *mili* ém rocredset[10] doPa*traic* laÁu Amalgaid *ocus*

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[1] Sic E.; mumero, R.
[2] foraccaib, E.
[3] mulieris, R.
[4] abbronnaib, E.
[5] erlámæ, E.
[6] infirt, E.
[7] Sic E.; oendarcæ, R.
[8] credderet, R.
[9] E. omits 'et babtizatus est.'
[10] rocreitset, E.

them, and fire from heaven consumed them, to the number of nine.

Patrick founded Cell Alaid, and left therein an aged man of his household, namely, Bishop Muiredaig.[1]

Patrick baptized the women, namely, Crebriu and Lesru, the two daughters of Gléru, son of Cumméne. It is they that called to Patrick out of their mother's womb, when he was in the isles of the Tyrrhene sea. It is they that are patronesses of Cell Forgland in Húi Amalgada, west of (the river) Moy.

He went into Forrach macc n-Amalgodo;[2] and Amalgaid's seven sons believed in him, together with Énde and the King. Therein it is that he baptized the pregnant woman and her child, and raised another woman to life.

Then Patrick and Conall went to the grave wherein the dead pregnant woman (namely, Fedilm) was biding, along the lower path to Cell Alaid. Oengus, however, went along the upper path. They reach the grave. Patrick raises the woman to life, and the boy in her womb. And both were baptized in the well of Oen-adarc ('one-horn'). From the steep little hillock of earth that is near it the well was so named. And when she was brought to life she preached to multitudes of the pains of hell and the rewards of heaven, and with tears she besought her brother to believe in God through Patrick. *Quod factum est,* and he was baptized. And in that day twelve thousand were baptized in the well of Oen-adarc, *ut dicitur:*

In one day are baptized
Twice six great thousands,
Together with Amalgaid's seven sons:
That was well.

Verily twelve thousand believed in Patrick in Húi-

[1] Muredachum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

[2] locum, qui a consessu publico, in quo cum subiectis populis congregati erant filij Amalgadij Regis, vocatur *Forrach mhac namalgaidh*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 16, a. 1.

uacaillib [leg. chaillid] Fochlad, *ocus* for*a*caib Maucen Magistir léo.

Luid fodess coferta Locha Dæla.[1] Óeng*us*sa intalam. Romenair[2] Pat*raic* con*gab*ad dó feissin ann. Donanaicc int Oeng*us* immescai: doduaccai dó, arnírbo ochridi[3] rocr*e*it cid intan robaitsed *ocus* foruisme creitem.[4] "Modebród," olPa*traic*, "ba cóir [fo. 16 a. 2] ceniptis arda dochongb*al*asu *ocus* doclainde post té. Bit coirmmgnáithi dochomorbai *ocus* bit fingalaig trı́ıt."

Luid Pa*traic*[5] sair doLicc Find, bali dorónai[6] chroiss isin chloich osChill Móir Ochtair Múaide aníar, acht Lía naManach aainm indíu .i. cruimthir Monaich sancti, cell Olcán; acht nirabai cell and intansin. Et babtizauit Echaich m*acc* Nathi mic Fiachrach, et suscitauit coniugem eius Echtrai ocÁth Echtrai[7] hosinglaiss bic ifírdor*us* Chilli Móiri.[8] *Ocus* atá fert Echt*rai*[9] for ur indátha. Ismine culais leos*um* innatír senchas coimnigedar infiurtsa.

Dofoid[10] eps*cop* Olc*an* huad doch*on*gbáil dú hitá Cell Mór indíu. Ita uenit, biail foramuin.[11] Et dixit ei Patricius, dú itoithsad abiail diamuin isand ba congbaithi dó. Quod factum est ubi est[12] Cell Mór Uachtair Muaide.[13]

Luid da*no* fathuaid doLicc Balbeni, ubi filios Amalgaid inuenit et benedixit, *ocus* dodech*uid* asintír do-[14] B*er*tlachaib aníar imB*er*tlachaib sair[15] ininbiur Muáidi f*ri*beolu mara.

Batir ingen fíada and, et benedixit inn imorchu

[1] fades do fertai locho dá ela, E.
[2] rommenair, E.
[3] ó chridiu, E.
[4] creitim, E.
[5] E. omits.
[6] E. inserts 'pátraic.'
[7] Echtre, E.
[8] cille moire, E.
[9] Échtre, E.
[10] Dofaid, E.
[11] Sic E.; for muin, R.
[12] Sic E.; R. omits.
[13] Sic E.; Muaigi, R.
[14] di, E.
[15] imBertlacha tairis sair, E.

Amalgada and from the wood of Fochlad: and he left with them Maucen[1] the Master.

He went south to the Ferta of Loch-Daela. The land belonged to Oengus. Patrick thought that he would take it to himself there. Oengus came to him in drunkenness . . . . . to him, for it was not from the heart that he believed, even when he was baptized and confessed (his) belief. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it were right that thy dwellings and thy children after thee should not be exalted. Thy successors will be alebibbers, and they will be parricides through thee."

Patrick went eastward to Lecc Finn, where[2] he made a cross in the stone over Cell Mór Óchtair Muaide ('the great church of the Upper Moy') to the west; but Lia na Manach ('the Monks' Stone') is its name to-day, that is, Saint Crumther Monach's [or] Cell Olcain: but there was no church there at that time. And he baptized Echaid, son of Nathi,[3] son of Fiachra, and raised to life his wife Echtra at Áth Echtra over the little stream right in the doorway of Cell Mór. And Echtra's grave-mound is on the edge of the ford. It is a . . . of knowledge with them in their country, the story which commemorates this miracle.

Bishop Olcan went from him to reside in the place wherein Cell Mór stands to-day. Thus he went, axe on back. And Patrick said to him that where his axe should fall from his back, there should his residence be. Which thing came to pass where Cell Mór Uachtair Muaide (now) stands.

Then he went northwards to Lecc Balbeni, where he found the sons of Amalgaid, and blessed them. And he went out of the country from Bertlacha in the west into Bertlacha in the east, in the estuary of the Moy, overagainst (?) the sea. A girl is drowned before him

[1] *Manchenum* cognomento *Magistrum*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 141.

[2] Colgan (*Tr. Th.* 141) translates *baile* as if it were compounded with *finn* ('ad locum *Leac-finnbaile* vocatum').

[3] 'Eochadium Dathia, siue Dauide Fiachrij filio natum,' *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 16, a. 2.

sin, et dixit quod in sempiternum non moriretur aliquis ibi. Profetauit Patricius quod secum essent Bertlacha airtheracha.[1] Atá isenchass leosum rí intíri op*era* in die belli Pat. illvm regio[2] et uictor erit.

ISandsin icunglaisi tarlaicset Grecr*aigi* clocha f*or*-Pa*traic* oc*us* f*or*amunt*ir*. "Modebród," olPa*traic*, "nach comland imbeithi memais f*or*aib[3] ocus bethi foselib *ocus* sopaib *ocus* cuitbiud hicach airecht[4] imbed."[5]

"Arrddruig, aChonaill," olPat*raic*c, [16 b. 1.] "gabáil bachla duitsiu." *Con*all dixit, "Si pium est tibi faciam." "Ni be[6] ed biass and," olPatr*aic*. "Bíasu fut gaisc*id* causa comarpsa dot cheniul, *ocus* bid tu inConald Scíathbachall. Orddan loech *ocus* clerech uaitt, *ocus* nach æn úait assasciath imbia toraind mobachlasa nisoifetar óic imbi." Quod illi Patricius fecit.

Luit[h] sair hicrích Oa Fiacrach lamuir. F*ri*sort dó uisqe .i. riglie mór anaicneta indi, et maledixit ei. Ata f*or*sind*us*ciu locc, Bualc Pat*raic* nomen eius .i. fert mbecc cocrois and: dunarrastair sain ed mbecc. Andsin donánic eps*cop* Brón noeb Chaisil Irre *ocus* m*acc* Ríme noeb Chilli ChorcuRoide, et ibi ei[s] scripsit alphabétum. Et audiui ab alio quod in illo locco dedit dentem ex ore suo episcopo Brono, [propterea] quod carus esset[7] Patricio.

Oc tuidecht dó aníar tarsinMúaid focétóir hinG*re*-cr*aigi* donarthatar trídrúid nemdenmacha[8] ocRaith Rígbaird, qui nihil ei potuerunt, et dixit quod de illa gente non deficisset uir illius magice peritie semper.[9]

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[1] airthercha, E.

[2] This corrupt passage stands thus in E.: rii. intire. ata opera in die belli pát. illam regionem et uictor.

[3] foirb, E.

[4] airiucht, E.

[5] Written in R. and E. as if it began the next following sentence.

[6] Nibá, E.

[7] carum essent, R.

[8] neimdenmacha, E.

[9] Sic E.; peniper, R.

there; and he blessed that port (?) and said that no one should be drowned there *in sempiternum.* Patrick prophesied that the eastern Bertlacha would belong to him. It stands in one of their histories that in the day of war the king of the land shall call on Patrick (to protect) that country, and he shall be victorious.

There at the stream the Grecraige flung stones at Patrick and his household. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "in every contest in which ye shall be ye shall be routed, and ye shall abide under spittles and wisps and mockery[1] in every assembly at which ye shall be present."

"Arise, O Conall!" saith Patrick: "thou must take the crozier." Conall said, "If it is pleasing to God I will do it for thee." "That shall not be so," saith Patrick. "Thou shalt be under arms for sake of thy tribe's heritage, and thou shalt be Conall Crozier-shield.[2] Dignity of laymen and clerics shall be from thee, and every one of thy descendants in whose shield shall be the sign of my crozier, the warriors with him shall not be turned (to flight)." Which thing Patrick did for him.

Patrick went eastward into the territory of the Húi Fiachrach by the sea. A water opposed him, that is, (there was) a great, unnatural flood therein, and he cursed it. On the water is a stead, Buale Patraic ('Patrick's Byre') is its name, to wit, a small mound with a cross thereon. He tarried a little while there. Then the holy bishop Brón of Caisel Irre came to him, and the holy Macc-Ríme of Cell Corcu-Roide, and there he wrote an alphabet for them. And I have heard from a certain person that in that place he gave a tooth out of his mouth to bishop Brón, because he was dear unto Patrick.

Just as he was coming from the west over the Moy into Grecraige, three poison-giving wizards overtook him at Raith Rígbard. They could do nothing to him,

[1] *i.e.*, ye shall be subject to every kind of insult.

[2] Conallum *Sciath-bachlach* .i. scuti baculati, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 142.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 16, b. 1. MaccErce m*ac* Draigin, qui hi Cill Róe Móre est icrích Amalgaid.[1] *Secht* m*aicc* Draigin rosbaitsi Pa*traic*, et elegit ex eis m*acc* Erce, *ocus* atnói docps*cop* Brón dia altromm, arníbuassa abreith inet*er*céin arbáide aathar.

Dorórand Pat*raic* Caissil[2] nIrre, *ocus* atá f*or* lár inliss indlecc f*or*atorchair fiacail Pat*raic*. F*or*cmaid eps*cop* Bróin inport, et profetauit Patricius quod gentilibus desereretur locus ille, quod factum est.

[16 b. 2] Is annsin rogab Pat*raic* inrand:

A fir há
ocus m*acc* nutan immbá
otáam inar[m]bíu
nochotacca c*us*indíu.
Céin robámar immalle
nirodamar húar nate
be*n*nacht forríg nañuli[3]
ronscar acnaim senbuidi.
Cidphe[4] gell*us* dít náchthan
imanmaim icomadrad
gellfassa de fiad ili
dodeoin Fiadat findnime.
INFiada find fil[5] f*or*nim
*con*acna fr*ím* Cr*ist* coemdil
domrosat fobathis [gil][6]
nimreilce inathis nóenfir. Afir há.[7]

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[1] Amalgadha, E.

[2] Caisiul, E.

[3] nanhuile, E.

[4] Ciphé, E.

[5] E. omits.

[6] Sic E.

[7] These verses are thus given in the Book of Leinster, facsimile, p. 353. Oenfiacail im*morro* la P*at*ric intan luid a Cruachan. *Ocus* la eps*cop* oc Achud Fobair rofacbad indfiacailsin .i. Fer ha. ['One tooth, however, had Patrick when he went out of Cruachan. And that tooth was left with a bishop at Achad Fobair, to wit, Fer hÁ] ut Patricius dixit.

Afir á, facus m*ac*nutan imbá.
nocotfacca cosindiu otú imbiu, afir á.
Ón aidchi *cond*r*an*ac fr*im* atberim fiad rig narend.
nidechaid feoil tarut sís, nithanic góu anís dartchend.
INFiada find fil f*or*nim *con*ecnu, *con*airmitin.
domícc fobathis báin bil, nomléic fobathis oenfir, A.

and he said that to that race there would never be wanting a man of that magical skill.

[As to] Macc Erce, son of Draigen, who is in Cell Roe Móre in the territory of Amalgad; there were seven sons of Draigen, whom Patrick baptized, and of them he chose Macc Erce, and he gave him to bishop Bron to be fostered, for it was not easy to take him away to a distance, because of his father's affection (for him).

Patrick marked out Caissel Irre, and in the middle of the hall stands the flagstone[1] on which Patrick's tooth fell. Bishop Bron . . . the place, and Patrick prophesied that that place would be deserted by the heathen, which thing came to pass.

Then Patrick sang the stave:

O man . . .
And . . .
Since we have been alive
I have not seen thee till to-day.
While we have been together
I suffered not cold nor heat.
A blessing on the King of all the (elements).
Whatever I have . . . of thee at any time
In my name.
. . . . before many
To the will of God of white heaven,
The white God who is in heaven,
Dearly loved Christ, worketh with me,
He created me under pure baptism:
He leaves me not in disgrace with any one.

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[1] in cuius atrio est saxum, Colg. *Tr. Th.* 142.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 16, b. 2.

ISandsin asp*er*t Pat*ra*ic f*r*isna híascairiu aracoirtís dó innalína isind aphaind .i. hiSlicig. Dixerunt ei: "Nigaibt*er* bratána [1] indi isindabainnsi ingaimrid: [2] húair atb*eir*siu [immorro," [3]] olind iascairi, "dogenamne." Rollásat allina *ocus* rogabsat éicne móra *ocus* doratsat doPat*ra*ic. Et benedixit flumini, *con*id hi Slicech gamnach uisci nErend, argaibther íasc indi hicachráthi.

Epscop [4] Rodán, buacaill [5] Pat*ra*ic,[6] f*or*acaib Pat*ra*ic hi Muirisc Aigli iCill Eps*coip* Rotáin.[7] Nidéndaís alóig acht ani *con*arlciced som dóib. ISdósin atb*er*at incruitiri *ocus* in senmairi hiríaraib

denait doloíg a Rotán [7]
roléic dóib dinetán.

Callraigi Cúli Cernadán robátar himaigin derrit arachinn [8] Pat*ra*ic, *ocus* adcoimcaiset crandu f*r*iscíathu dofub[thad] [9] Pat*ra*ic *con*amuint*ir*. "Modebróth," arPat*ra*ic, "ní maith andorigensait[h].[10] Nách cath *ocus* nách immairecc dob*er*aid *ocus* farcl*ann*a farndiaid isfoirb memais." Roslechtsat fochetóir doPat*ra*ic act cóicfir. Roráidi Pat*ra*ic, "Nách cath memais foirb, ciabeit *Connachta* uili farndiaid, níthóith lín bás lía indaas cuiciur uaib," am*al* comalt*ar*.[11]

[fo. 17 a. 1.] Fecht do Pat*ra*ic íartuid*echt for* Ber[n]*us* H*ua* nAilella dodul hiMag Luirgg, cotorchair imBúaill .i. ob dothæt alLoch Techet. Áth Carpait ainm ind átha, foc*us* do Ess macc nEirc. Romallach Pat*ra*ic alleth sair dond huisciu. "*Ocus* alleth o áth síar," ol a muint*er*, "cid ainges lat?" "Ticfa" (olPat*ra*ic) "m*acc* bethad géb*us* and iartain (*ocus*) bid ferr leiss uisci torthech icob(ali)." .i. Col*um* cille m*acc* Feidli-

[1] nigaibther bráttan, E.
[2] isindinbuidse in gaimriud, E.
[3] Sic E.
[4] Espop, R.
[5] Rotan búachoill, E.
[6] E. omits.
[7] Róddan, E.
[8] archinn, E.
[9] dofubthad, E.
[10] dorigensaid, E.
[11] chomailter, E.

Then Patrick told the fishermen to cast the nets for him into the river, namely, into Slicech. They said to him: "Salmon are not caught in it, in this river, in winter; (but) since thou sayest it," say the fishermen, "we will do it." They cast their nets and caught great salmon and gave them to Patrick. And he blessed the river, so that the Slicech is the milch-cow of the waters of Ireland, for in it fish is caught in every quarter of the year.

Bishop Rodan, Patrick's herdsman, Patrick left in Muiresc Aigle in Cell Epscoip Rodan ('Bishop Rodan's Church.') His calves used only to do what was permitted them. Of him it is that the harpers and the musicians say in . . . .

"Thy calves, O Rotan, suck.
He left to them . . ."

The Callraigi of Cúle-Cernadán were in a secret place ahead of Patrick, and they struck spears against shields to terrify Patrick with his household. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "not good is what they have done. Every battle and every conflict that ye and your children after you shall deliver, ye shall be routed therein." Straightway all (of them), save five men, knelt to Patrick. Patrick said: "Every battle in which ye shall be routed, though all Connaught should be after you, there shall fall no greater number of you than five men," as is fulfilled.

Once as Patrick was after passing by Bernas Ua-Oilella to go into Mag Luirg, he fell into Búall, that is, a river which comes out of Loch Techet. Áth Carpait[1] is the name of the ford, near to (the cataract called) Ess macc [n]Eirc. Patrick cursed the eastern half of the water. "And the half from the ford westward, why hast thou spared it?" "There shall come," saith Patrick, "a son of Life, who will set up there afterwards, and he will prefer (to have) a fruitful water at his

[1] id est, vadum quadrigae, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 143.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 17, a. 1.

midh oc Ess (mac) nEirc. Óndáth (.i. cosinloch) súas iascrad isdech in hÉri lacách and: húad sís ní mór gabar ann.

Luid iarom [Patraic[1]] hicrích Maigi Luirg, coructha aeich hicumugg laccnel *macc* ṅEire, *ocus* romallach dodoinib intíri sin. Acht eps*cop* Maine do úib Ailella rogaid indi Pat*raic* imdilgud dia braithrib, *ocus* rolagaig[2] Pat*raic* inmallach*tain*, *ocus* ronnig Maine cossa Pa*traic* *con*afolt *ocus* *con*adéraib, *ocus* roimmaig naeocha[3] ifergort *ocus* roglan acossa arhonóir Pat*raic*, *ocus* atrub*airt* Pa*traic*, "Bíaid gol *ocus* éigem *ocus* ilach lá luc*ht* intiri sin *ocus* nocobiaid comaithgess and in saeculum," ut impletur. *Ocus* at*rubairt* da*no* Pa*traic* ropad leiss rand mór dintír sin íartain, ut impletum est. In[N]odáin[4] locha hUama ata im*morro* eps*cop* Maine domunt*ir* Pa*traic* *ocus* Gemtene[5] indEcanuch[6] la Uu Ailella.

Luid Pa*traic* íarsin hic*r*ích Callraigi doD*ruim* Dara bali atá[7] indíu Druim Lías. IS ann robaitsi *mac* Cœrthaind,[8] *ocus* roedbrad inportsin doPat*raic* in sempiternum. Rogab Pa*traic* íarsin f*or*sindedbairt inDruim Dara, Druimm Lías indíu .i. dosost[17. a. 2.]-aib[9] Pa*traic* and *ocus* dinaliasaib roainmniged. F*or*ácaib Pat*raic* Benén and adalta inapdaine f*r*iré fichet bl*iadan*.

Táraill leiss is[n]aib glinnib sair dú itá indíu cenel Muinremair. Doreiprensat[10] adisróin f*or*sinsét. Ata and lecc Pat*raic* *ocus* coll Pat*raic* ed ṁbecc ón chill (siar) *con*gab and, Srath Pat*raic* ainmnigther indíu.

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[1] Sic E.
[2] rolaegaig, E.
[3] echu, E.
[4] inNódain, E.
[5] Geintene, E.; *Gemthenno*, Colgan.
[6] inechainuch, E.; *Each-ainech*, Colgan.
[7] ita, E.
[8] Cóerthinn, E.
[9] disostaib, E.
[10] durébbrenset, E.

stead." That is, Colomb Cille son of Feidlimed at Ess macc nEirc, from the ford, that is, to the lake, upwards. The best fishing in Ireland every one has there. (But) from thence down not much is caught there.

Then Patrick went into the district of Mag Luirg, and his horses were forcibly taken by the tribe of the Sons of Erc, and he cursed the people of that country. But bishop Maine of the Húi-Ailella besought Patrick to forgive his brethren, and Patrick weakened the malediction. And Maine washed Patrick's feet with his hair and with his tears, and he drove the horses into a meadow and cleansed their hoofs in honour of Patrick. And Patrick said: "There will be weeping and wailing and lamenting with the people of that country, and there will not be neighbourhood there *in saeculum*," as is fulfilled. And Patrick said that he would have a great part of that country afterwards, as hath been fulfilled in Nódain[1] of Loch Uama. Bishop Maine, moreover, is of Patrick's household, and Gemtene in the Echanach in Húi-Ailella.

Thereafter Patrick went into the district of Callraige, to Druim Daro, the stead wherein to-day standeth Druim Lias. There he baptized Caerthann's son, and that place was offered to Patrick for ever. Thereafter Patrick set up on the offering in Druim Daro. 'Druim Lias' (it is) to-day, namely, from Patrick's stations and from the sheds (*liasa*) it was named. Patrick left his fosterson Benén there, in the abbacy, for the space of twenty years.

Then he fared into the Glens eastward, where the tribe of Muinremar is to-day. His two nostrils dropped (blood) on the road. Patrick's flagstone is there, and Patrick's hazel, a little distance from the church westward. He set up there. 'Srath Pátraic' it is named

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[1] quod impletum est in Aidano de *Coch*-[leg. *Loch*]-*uamach*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 143.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 17 a. 2.

Domnach Sratha (a)ainm océin. Rofói Pat*raic* fodomnach and, et haec est un[ic]a [eius] eclesia illius regionis.[1]

Luid Pat*raic* sech Druim Cliab oCh[aisiul hIrre lasna Ro[2]]ssa sair iarMaig Ene, *con*acaib Domnach Mór Maigi Ene.

ISann sin mallachais do Duib arin era doratsat na iascairiu[3] fair. Robennach im*morro* do Drobéiss dintsochall[4] dogénsat na ma*icc* becca friss robát*ar* ic íascach[5] indi; *ocus* it maic becca gaibthi an[d][6] fheos. Æ drobéssach cáinem dithon[n]emaib hErenn. Nách æ mór gaib*ter* inEss Rúaid is*ed* atb*er*at indiascairi:[7] "Drobessach intéicni;" fobith is[s]ainred do Drobéiss tonnem cáin and t*ri*a b*ennacht*ain Pa*traic*.

Cobá *thri, tra,* dochúaid Pa*traic* tar Sinaind hitír *Connacht* .L. cloc *ocus* .l. calech naltóre *ocus* .l. anart f*or*ácaib hitír *Connacht,* each æ díb inna chill. *Secht* [m]bliadna[8] dóu icp*ro*cept[9] do *Connacht*aibh. Foráсaib b*ennacht*ain léu *ocus* ceilebraiss díib.

Luid Pa*traic* do Ess Ruaid. Folam*us*tar *con*gb*ail* and dú itá Dísert Pa*traic ocus* Lec Pat*raic.* F*ri*stulaid Coirp*ri* dó, *ocus* rofóid[10] [17 b. 1] díis día muintir dogabáil aláma .i. Carbacc *ocus* Cúang*us* ananmann. "Nímaith andagníd,"[11] olPa*traic.* "Día leicthe damsa cong*bail* sund ropad tánaissi Romæ Letha *con*aTibir tréithe[12] mo chath*airs*i *con*aEssrúaid trea, *ocus* ropad do chl*ann*sa beitís comarbai indi." Roopai Coirp*re* insin,

[1] *i.e.*, in ea regione.
[2] Sic E.
[3] arinnéra doratsat na iascairi, E.
[4] sochill, E.
[5] iascuch, E.
[6] gaibti and, E.
[7] Sic E.; indiascaire, R.
[8] mblia. E.
[9] praicept, E.
[10] Sic E.; rofói, R.
[11] andugní, E.
[12] trethi, E.

to-day. Domnach Sratha its name from afar.[1] Patrick rested on Sunday there, and this is his only church in that territory.

Patrick went past Druim Cliab, from Caisel Irre by the Rosses eastward, along Mag Ene. He built (?) Domnach Mór Maige Ene ('the Great Church of Mag-Ene').

Then he cursed the (river) Dub because of the refusal which the fishermen gave him. Howbeit, he blessed the (river) Drobéss,[2] owing to the kindness which the little boys who were fishing in it did unto him. And (even) little boys take (fish) there still. A salmon of Drobéss is the finest of Ireland's salmon. Of any big salmon that is caught in Ess Ruaid this is what the fishermen say: "the salmon is from Drobéss;" because peculiar to Drobéss is the beautiful salmon there through Patrick's blessing.

Thrice, now, did Patrick wend across the Shannon into the land of Connaught. Fifty bells and fifty chalices and fifty altarcloths he left in the land of Connaught, each of them in his church. Seven years was he apreaching to the men of Connaught. He left a blessing with them, and bade them farewell.

Patrick [then] went to Ess Ruaid. He desired to set up there in the place where are Disert Pátraic and Lecc Pátraic. Coirbre resisted him and sent two of his people to expel him.[3] Carbacc and Cúangus[4] were their names. "Not good is what ye do," saith Patrick. "If a dwelling were permitted to me here, my city, with its Essruaid through it, would be a second Rome of Latium with its Tiber through it, and thy children would be (my) successors therein." Coirbre refused that, as Patrick had prophesied. Carbacc then set a dog at Patrick. Howbeit

[1] quae olim *Domnach-Sratha*, id est Ecclesia prati, dicta, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 143.

[2] *Drobhaois*, Colgan, *ibid.*

[3] Lit. to seize his hand.

[4] *Corbhach* and *Congus*, according to Colgan.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 17, b. 1.

amal dorairngert Pa*traic*. INCarbacc iar*um* mailltis[1] coin fo Pa*traic*. Bí im*morro* Cuang*us* in coin cufleisc. Aspert Pa*traic* naregad chenel Carbaicc tar buidin, *ocus* nabíad ordan loech [na chleirech[2]] uad. Quod impletur. Cúang*us* da*no*, ore adrodamair láim Pa*traic* dogab*ail* arCoirp*re*, dixit Patricius nabadlía achenel atabuiden *ocus* nobeitis oirdnidi díb, quod impletum est.

Dorairngert[3] Coirpri do Chúang*us* argabail láma Pa*traic* arodarcc alla thuaid isleib Cisi.[4] Intan rosói dodéicsin arodaircc immi, roiad nell dorcha imChúan-g*us* *con*achaccai acht comuir síar *ocus* cosinnuinsin tair. "Indabandso tuc duitsi[5] Día, aChoirp*ri*," olPat*raic*, "niba toirthech immíascach docuitsiu inti" .i. aleth tuaisc*er*tach dind abainn íarfut cuitt Coir*pri* .i. alleth f*ri*C*en*él *Con*aill arrupa laCoirp*re* Crích *Con*aill intan sin coRáith Cungai. Cuit im*morro* *Con*aill alleth thess toirthech sidi. Síc impletum est usque dum im-mol[a]uit Muirgi*us*a[6] ma*cc* Mailiduin ma*icc* Scannláin,[7] rí amra do chen*él* Choirp*ri*, araind etoirthig doChol*umb* chilli, *ocus* iss toirthech indossa icCol*umb* cilli.

Luid iarsin it*ir* Ess R*uaid* *ocus* muir ic*r*ich *Con*aill, [17 b. 2.] dú itá indíu Raith Chungai. Saidis clí and *ocus* asb*er*t ropad chongb*ail* *ocus* cathir dócum .uii. epis*coporum* et ubi est Bite filius fratris Asici óAil find.

ISandsin dorairngert di Domnall m*acc* Ǽdo m*aicc* Anmirech .i. rosáithsom clí inArd Fothaid *ocus* ara-bárach ba crumb.[8] Folam*us*tair[9] huileth otaim, et dixit

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[1] mailtis, E.
[2] Sic E.
[3] Dorargert, E.
[4] Cise, E.
[5] duitsiu, E.
[6] Muirgus, E.
[7] Scandail, E.
[8] cromb, E.
[9] folaimastair, E.

Cúangus smote the dog with a rod. Patrick said that the race of Carbacc would not go [in number] beyond a band, and that dignity of laymen or clerics would not come from him. Which thing is fulfilled. (As to) Cúangus, then, since he had consented to expel Patrick for Coirbre, Patrick said that his race would not be more numerous than a troop, but [1] that of them there would be ordained men. Which thing (also) hath been fulfilled.

Coirbre promised to Cúangus, for expelling Patrick, all he could see to the north on Sliab Cise. When he turned to take his view about him, a dark cloud closed round Cuangus, so that he only saw as far as the sea westward and as far as the Uinsenn [2] eastward. "The river[3] that God hath given thee, O Coirbre," saith Patrick, "thy share therein shall not be fruitful as regards fishing," that is, the northern half of the river lengthways was Coirbre's share, to wit, the half towards Cenél Conaill, for Coirbre had at that time the territory of Conall as far as Ráith Cungai.—"Howbeit the share of Conall, the half to the south, it (will be) fruitful." *Sic impletum est*, until Muirgius son of Moel Duin, son of Scannlán, a wonderful king of the tribe of Coirbre, gave his barren part to Colomb Cille; and now that Colomb Cille hath it, it is fruitful.

Thereafter Patrick went between Ess Ruaid and the sea unto Conall's territory, where today is Raith Chungai. He set a stake there [4] and said that it would be a dwelling and a city for seven bishops, and there is Bite son of the brother of Assicus, from Ail-Find.

Then he prophesied of Domnall son of Aed, son of Ainmire, namely, he set a stake in Ard Fothaid and on the morrow it was bent. . . . . And Patrick

[1] I have translated as if the text (which here seems corrupt) were *indá buiden acht.*

[2] usque ad vicinum fluuiolum *Vnscann* appellatum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

[3] *i.e.*, the Erne, according to Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

[4] ibique a fundamentis Ecclesiam excitauit, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 17 b. 2.

Patricius ropud suidi[1] flatha. Quod impletum est in Domna*ll*.

For síth Óeda robe*n*nach[2] Pa*traic Co*nald m*acc* Neill. ISandsin dofuititis láma Pa*traic* for*c*end Ferg*usa*. Ba machtad la *Co*nall inní sin, ubi dixit Patricius:

.i. Colam cilli.

Gignid m*ac*can diafine:
bid sái, bid faith, bid fili.
inmain léspairi[3] glan gle
natepera imarbe.[4]

B*ri*git[5] dixit:[6]

M*ac*cán Eithne tóebfotta,
sech is bal[7] isblathug*ud*.
Col*um* cillecan censon[8]
nírburom aráthug*ud*.

IArsindí, t*ra*, robennach*as*tar Pat*raic* ceniul[9] *Co*naill, *ocus* for*á*caib be*nnach*tain for*a*ndúine *ocus* for*a*ninvera *ocus* for*a*cella.

ISs*ed* dochoid iarsin itír Eogain m*aicc* Neill fo*r* Be*rnais* tíri Óeda himag nItha do Domnach Mór Maigi Itha, cofarcaib[10] Dudubæ m*acc* Corcain and día muintir.

Et dixit Patricius f*ria* munt*ir*: "Cauete nachaibthair inléu Éugan m*acc* Neill." Immatarraid doib in uia. Muiredach m*acc* Eug*ain* robái itossuch sluaig na nócc.[11] Sechnall indered[12] sl*uaig* naclóire*ch*. Rorádi[13] Sechnall f*ri* Muiredach: "Rott bia alógh limm diancraili creitem for*thath*air*." "Cid lóg?" olsé. "Bid úait rígi cobráth fortcheníul codeimin,"[14] olSech*nall*. "Dogén,"

[1] ropad suide, E.
[2] Aedo robbendach, E.
[3] lesbairi, E.
[4] nad epera immarba, E.
[5] E. omits.
[6] E. adds *ol Brigit*.
[7] bol, E.
[8] censon, E.; cen on, LB. p. 31ª.
[9] cenél, E.
[10] cofaracaib, E.
[11] nan óoc, E.
[12] indeiriud, E.
[13] rotbía, R.; roradi, E.
[14] codeimimin, R.; E. omits.

said that it would be the seat of a prince, which thing was fulfilled in Domnall.[1]

On Síth Aeda Patrick blessed Conall son of Níall. Then were Patrick's hands falling on Fergus's head. That was a marvel to Conall, when Patrick said:

"A youth (*i.e.* Colomb-cille) will be born of his tribe,
He will be a sage, a prophet, a poet;
A beloved light, pure, clear,
Who will not utter falsehood."

Brigit said:

"Child of long-sided Ethne,
That is fragrant (?), is a blossoming:
Little Colomb of the church,[2] without noise:
It was not oversoon to perceive him."[2]

Now, after that Patrick blessed Cenél Conaill, and left a blessing on their strongholds and on their estuaries and on their churches.

He afterwards went into the country of Eogan son of Niall, over Bernas [Mor [2]] of Tír Aeda into Mag Itha, and to Domnach Mór Maige Itha (' the great Church of Magh Itha'), and there he left Dudubae[3] son of Corcan, (one) of his household.

And Patrick said to his household: "Beware lest the lion, Eogan son of Níall, come unto you." Muiredach son of Eogan, who was in the van of the host of the soldiers, met them on the way. Sechnall (was) in the rear of the host of the clerics. Said Sechnall to Muiredach: "Thou shalt have from me a reward for it if thou prevailest on thy father to believe." "What is the reward?" saith he. "The kingship on thy tribe shall assuredly be till Doom from thee,"[4] saith Sechnall. "I will

[1] In colle vicino *Ard-fothadh* appellato, coepit etiam iacere fundamenta Ecclesiae. Sed die sequenti, inchoata fabrica coepit corruere. . . . Tunc vir Dei . . . vidit . . . locum non esse . . . destinatum ad aedem sacram, sed ad aulam regiam in eo extruendam. Praeuidit enim . . . Domnaldum, Aido Anmirij filio natum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

[2] Sic Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 144.

[3] Dubdubanum, *ibid.*

[4] *i.e.*, as Mr. Hennessy renders, 'the sovereignty of thy tribe shall for ever belong to thy heirs.'

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 17 b. 2.

olMuredach. IFid-mór isann *con*ranic Eogan *fri* Pa*traic*, dú itá in lecc. Credidit Eogan Deo et Patricio. "Mád ittír nocr*ei*tti,[1] olP*átraic*," [18 a. 1] doticfaitís géill Góidel dotír; acht an rutbia taréissi duairm *ocus* dosaigtige níticcfett geill." "Nisegda dam," olEog*an*, "dob*er*at mobráthir imainech[2] muétchi." "Cidsi delb doguisiu?"[3] olPa*traic*. "Delb inóclaig[4] fil fottéigsi" .i. Rióce Insi Bó Finne. Dossnailgi Pat*raic* foóenbrut: dílaim cechtarnai immolaili. Dormiunt sic, et postea cui-[gi]llant[5] unius formæ, distante tantum tonsura. "Nicoimse lim da*no*," olsé, "mu mét." "Comaitte?" olP*atraic*. Rigid Eogan alaim súas lía gaisced. "Iscumse lim inso," olsé. Asaid protinus illa longitudine.

Rob*en*nach Pa*traic* iar*um* Eog*an* *con*am[acc]aib. "Cía," olPa*traic*, "dit m*ac*caib isdiliu lat?" "Muiredach," olsé. "Rígi úad cobráth," olPa*traic*. *Ocus* innadiaid?" olPa*traic*. "Ferg*us*," olsé. "Ordnidi úad," olPa*traic*. "*Ocus* íarom?" olPa*traic*. "Eochu[6] Bindech," olEog*an*. "Gaiscedaig úad," olPa*traic*. "*Ocus* nadiaid?" olPa*traic*. "Comg*r*ada lem[7] huili," olEog*an*. "Bid g*rá*d noenfir forra,"[8] olPa*traic*.

Luid Pa*traic* co Ailech naRíg corob*en*nach*as*tar indún *ocus* cofarcaib aleic and cotairchet rígu *ocus* ordnidiu f*or* Érenn aAiliuch. "INtan," olPat*raic*, "dob*er*a dochossa asdo lepaid dosaigid, *ocus* dochomarpa itdiáid, beti fir hEr*enn* arcrith riut."[9] ISass

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[1] nucreitte, E.

[2] duberat mubraithir inmainec*h*, E.

[3] Sic E.; doguidsiu, R.

[4] inna óclaigi, E.

[5] Sic E.

[6] Euchu, E.

[7] leom, E.

[8] forru, E.

[9] forcrith fritt, E.

do so," saith Eogan. In Fid Mór ('Great Wood'), then, Eogan met with Patrick, in the place where the flagstone is, Eogan believed in God and Patrick. "If thou hadst believed [while] in thy country," saith Patrick, "hostages of the Gael would have come to thy country; but [now] hostages will not come save those that thou shalt have by virtue of thy weapons and thy onslaughts."[1] "Not stately am I," saith Eogan: "my brothers give a great wergild for my ugliness." "What shape dost thou choose?" saith Patrick. "The shape of the youth who is carrying thy box," namely Rióc of Inis-bó-finde ('the Isle of the White Cow'). Patrick covered them in one mantle, the two arms of each of them around the other. They sleep thus and afterwards awake with the same shape, only the tonsures being different. "My size, too, is not to my liking," [saith Eogan]. "What size [desirest thou?]," saith Patrick. Eogan reaches up his hand with his weapon. "I should like this," saith he. He straightway grows that length.

Then Patrick blessed Eogan with his sons. "Which of thy sons," saith Patrick, "is dearest to thee?" "Muiredach," saith Eogan. "Kingship [shall descend] from him for ever," saith Patrick. "And after him?" saith Patrick. "Fergus," saith Eogan. "Ordained persons from him," saith Patrick. "And then?" saith Patrick. "Eochu the Tuneful," saith Eogan. "Warriors from him," saith Patrick. "And after him?" saith Patrick. "All (the rest) are equally beloved by me," saith Eogan. "One man's love shall be on them,"[2] saith Patrick.

Patrick went to Ailech of the Kings, and blessed the fortress, and left his flagstone there, and prophesied that kings and ordained persons out of Ailech would be over Ireland. "Whenever," saith Patrick, "thou shalt put thy feet out of thy bed to approach (them), and thy successor after thee, the men of Ireland shall be

[1] Lit. attacking.

[2] reliquorum vero filiorum posteros sine personarum acceptione iuxta cuiusque merita in pari habendos respectu, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 18, a. 1.

im*morro* robennach Pa*traic* inindsi uili óBelach Rátha, *ocus* dorat bennachtain ṅgaisc*id* fo*r*Eog*an*. Is ann[sein] roraid[1] Pat*raic*:

"Mobe*nnacht* fo*r*snatúatha
dobiur oBel*uch* Ratha.
fo*r*aib, [a]cined[2] nÉog*ain*!
déoraid[3] collaa ṁbratha.

Céin bess macha fo thoraibh
búaid catha fo*r*aferaib:
cenn sl*uag* fer Fáil diamaigin,
saig*id* dóib f*or* cechtel*aig*.[4]

[18 a. 2.] Síl nEog*ain* m*aicc* Neill
sén, aB*r*igit bán!
acht conde*r*nat[5] maith,
flaith uaidib cubráth.

Armbend*acht* arndís
fo*r*Eog*an* mac Néill,
fo*r*each gigness húad,
acht ropu[a]g[6] dia[r]réir."

Eoch*aid* m*acc* Fiachrach m*aicc* Eog*ain* *cobabtizatus* est cum Eogan, *ocus* cotach Pa*traic* et*ur*ru; et qui transgreditur, níberar cl*and* dó íarsin, *ocus* ni loba achorp hitalam.

ISed téit Pat*raic* íarsin inDaigurt imMag ṅDula. *Secht* ṅdomnaigi[7] dó imOchainc[8] (.i. flumen) .i. Dom*nach* Dola, Dom*nach* Senliss, Dom*nach* Dari, Dom*nach* Senchue, Dom*nach* Mi*n*-cluanc, Dom*nach* Cati, Bothdo*mnach*.

[1] is andsein rorádi, E.
[2] a chiniud, E.
[3] O'Clery's *deolaid* .i. *grása*.
[4] cach tailaigh, E.
[5] condenat, E.
[6] ruphuagh, E.
[7] ndomnaig, E.
[8] Perhaps we should read imFochaine.

a-tremble before thee."[1] Now Patrick blessed the whole island (of Eogan) from this—from Belach Rátha, and he bestowed a blessing of valour upon Eogan. Then said Patrick:

"My blessing on the tribes
I give from Belach Ratha.
On you, descendants of Eogan,
Graces till Doomsday!

So long as field shall be under crops
Victory in battle (shall be) on their men.
The head of the men of Ireland's hosts to their place,
They shall attack every hill.

The seed of Eogan, son of Níall,
Sain, O fair Brigit.
Provided that they do good
Rule shall (descend) from them for ever.

The blessing of us both
On Eogan son of Níall!
On every one who shall be born of him,
Provided he be wholly (according) to our will."

Echaid son of Fiachra, son of Eogan, was baptized along with Eogan; and Patrick's covenant (was) between them, and should either break it, children are not born to him afterwards, and [when he dies] his body decays not in the earth.

Thereafter Patrick goes into Daigurt, into Mag Dula. Seven churches he hath at the river Fochaine,[2] namely, Domnach Dola, Domnach Senliss, Domnach Dari, Domnach Senchue, Domnach Min-cluane, Domnach Cati, and Both-Domnach.

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[1] promittens eos fore gloriâ militari insignes, nec solum dum praesentes essent in conflictu, sed etiam statim ac ad arma pedem moverent, fore alijs Hibernis terrori et formidini, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

[2] per septem hebdomadas circa flumen *Fochmuine*, regionesque adiacentes moram contraxit. Et intereà jecit fundamenta septem Ecclesiarum, quae, etc. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 18, a. 2.

Luid Pa*tr*a*ic* hitír nEog*ain* na Insi .i. hic*r*ich Ferg*u*ssa. Folam*a*star[1] coṅgab*ad* disert inalailiu lucc. Achad Drumman intainriud ainm intíri hifothaigesdar.[2]

Gabais Coelbad[3] m*acc* Fergussa m*aicc* Eugain aláim ass, et dixit Patricius nadbíad de decleithi lachenél and. Probatum est quod nuper laCommán m*acc* nAlgasaich robói inEss m*acc* nEircc, docheniul Choelbroth,[4] dorignc tech nand, *ocus* nithárrad sim*n*i tuga[5] fair, *ocus* robr*i*siud[6] la m*acc*leirech domunt*ir* Domnaig Móir Maigi Tochuir. "Rotbíasu limsa failti it[f]arrad," olOed mac Ferg*u*ssa.[7] Nifil múr nacasel eturru *ocus* aremepertha. ISand *con*acabsat Domnuch Mor[8] Maigi Tóchair, ubi .xl. diebus mansit et m*acc* Cairthin reliquit.

ISs*ed* luid[9] Pa*tr*a*ic* oDom*nach* Mór Maigi T*óchair* isinmBretaig. Isan*n* faranic[10] natri Dechnán m*aicc* sethar doPa*tr*a*ic* ic*rích* [18 b. 1] Ailella m*a*i*c* Eog*ain*, *ocus* roordnest*ar* Óeng*us* m*acc* Ail*e*lla isinbailisin; *ocus* fiu and fodom*nach*. Domnuch Bili aainm.

Diambái Pa*tr*a*ic* inAiliuch Airtich la *Con*n*ach*ta [hi Ceneul[11]] hÉndi dodechuid cuci Enda. "Dá mihi hunc locum," olPa*tr*a*ic*. "Quasi non habuissemus clericos," olEnda. Arabarach venit Enda et suus filius secum, Echu Caich Inbir. P*a*tr*a*i*c* inairiucht[12] f*or*leith, amunt*er* ocbaits*ed* *ocus* octab*air*t g*r*a*d* *ocus* ocsilad

[1] folamsatar, E.
[2] intire hifothaigestar, E.
[3] Cóelboith, E.
[4] Cóelbaddo, E.
[5] nithardad simintugu, E.
[6] robrised, E.
[7] Aed mac Ferghusa, E.
[8] conaccab Domnach Mór, E.
[9] doluid, E.
[10] forranic, E.
[11] Sic E.
[12] inairnichthi, E.

Patrick went into Tír Eogain na Inse ('the land of Eogan of the island'), that is, into the territory of Fergus. He desired that he might take a hermitage in a certain place. Achad Drumman especially is the name of the land in which he founded (it).

Coelbad son of Fergus, son of Eogan, expelled him thence; and Patrick said that his race would not have . . . . there.[1] Which thing hath been lately proved by Comman son of Algasach, of the race of Coelbad, who was biding in Ess macc n-Eirc and who built a house there, and a rush of the thatch was not put upon it before[2] it was demolished by a clerical student of the community of Domnach Mór Maige Tochair ('the Great Church of Mag Tochair'). "Thou shalt have a welcome with me," saith Aed son of Fergus. There is neither bank nor wall between them and the aforesaid. There they erected Domnach Mór Maige Tochair, where Patrick remained forty days and left Cairthenn's son.

Patrick went from Domnach Mór Maige Tochair into the Bretach. There he found the three Dechnáns, sister's sons of Patrick's, in the district of Ailill son of Eogan. And he ordained Oengus son of Ailill in that place, and rested there throughout Sunday: Domnach Bili is its name.

While Patrick was biding in Ailech Airtich in Connaught in Cenél-Éndai, Éndae came to him. "Give me this place," saith Patrick. "As if we had not clerics (already)!" saith Énda. On the morrow came Éndae having with him his son Echu the One-eyed of Inber.[3] Patrick (was) in an assembly[4] apart, his household baptizing and

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[1] neminem in posterum ex eius stirpe focum in illo loco instructurum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

[2] Lit. and.

[3] *Eochacium*, siue Eochanum, cognomento *Luscum*, qui quiescit in *Inbher*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

[4] Or, if we follow E., 'was in prayer.' So Colgan: contulit enim se ad alium sequestratum locum orationi vacaturus.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 18 b. 1. irsi. Da *macc* Chairthind and innúairsin, qui est iClochur et qui est inDomnuch Mór Maigi T*óchair*. "Taibrid *grad* neps*coip* for mu *macc*," olÉnda. "A athcomarc doPa*traic*," olt*renfer* Pa*traic* *macc* Cairthinn Clochuir. "Isé arńdán," olalaili. Duberr an*grad*. Aric[h]thi[1] Pa*traic*, "*Grád* ém," olsé "dotab*airt* imméemaissi *formacc* inchon alta. Bíeid cellach[2] hicill, indalasar cob*ráth*. Bieid duana hi *con*gbail alaili." Quod implétur: celldach hiClochur: Domn*ach* Mór Máige T*óchuir*, domnotu[3] hisuidiu.

"IMmacc f*o*rathet[4] ing*rad* imnusaiccichet díass iarńduinorgguin f*o*raelaid, *ocus* atuińluifessa .cxx. annis cosinmac genfess isnaib randaib deiscertchaib,[5] *ocus* doaithcuirfe cucum diridissi."[6] Quod totum implétum est. INlocc toíssiuch[7] irabatar athaisi locc ardd oibinn. Roimorchuired secha suaith bicc *ocus* illocc asísliu. INlocc tóissiuch,[7] *tra*, irraba, fáss hé, *ocus* clechtait merlig *ocus* duincorccnidi aitreb and tré breithir[8] Pa*traic*; [18 b. 2] *ocus* roóintai[di]ge*d*[9] acell doCíarán *macc* intśáir, *ocus* dora[th]chuir[10] coPa*traic* iterum. Epsc*op* Ecán indiu intEchusin *macc* Endai.

Robói da*no* Pa*traic* itír Enda Artich iTailaich Liacc ilLethir. Sadid ecl*asc* ann ropu dos iar*um*. ISannsin rooirdni nat*ri* Domnaill fográd ńeps*cuip* .i. Domnall *macc* Cremhtain inAiliuch Airtig, quod[11] supra cogitauimus. Domnall *macc* Coilcni iTail*aich* Líacc, Domnall Cúli *Con*alto.[12]

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[1] airichthi, E.
[2] celldach, E.
[3] dommatu, E.
[4] forateit, E.
[5] descertachaib, E.
[6] daridissi, E.
[7] toisech, E.
[8] Sic E.; tar breitir, R.
[9] róointaidaged, E.
[10] Sic E.
[11] Sic E.; R. has the compendium for *quia*.
[12] Cuile Conaltt, E.

conferring orders and sowing the faith. Two sons of Cairthenn were there at that time, one of whom is in Clochar and one in Domnach Mór Maige Tóchair. "Confer ye the rank of a bishop on my son!" saith Éndae. "Ask it of Patrick," saith Patrick's champion, Macc Cairthinn of Clochar. "This is our duty," saith (the) other. The rank is conferred. Patrick perceives it. "Indeed," saith he, "to confer (that) rank in my absence on the son of the wolf! There shall always be contention in the church of one of the twain of you. There shall be poverty in the dwelling of the other." Which thing is fulfilled. Contention (there is) in Domnach Mór Maige Tochair: poverty in the latter (Clochar).[1] [And Patrick further said,] "The son on whom the rank hath come, two after *manslaughter* shall see him . . . and . . . me one hundred and twenty years unto the son who shall be born in the southern parts; and it shall revert to me again," whereof the whole was fulfilled. The first place in which Echu's relics were, was a lofty delightful place. He was carried past it in a little while (?), and into a very low place. The first place in which he was is waste, and robbers and manslayers are wont to dwell there, through Patrick's curse; and his church was granted (?) to Ciarán the Wright's son, and it fell to Patrick again. That Echu son of Éndae is to-day (called) bishop Ecán.

Patrick, then, was biding in Tír Éndai Artich in Tulach Liacc, in Lether. He sets therein a horse-rod, which afterwards became a bush. Then he ordained the three Domnalls in the grade of bishop, namely, Domnall son of Cremthann in Ailech Airtig, which thing we have mentioned above, Domnall son of Coilene in Telach Liacc, (and, thirdly,) Domnall of Cúil Conalto.

[1] sedes Clocharensis discordiâ et contentionibus; Dominicensis verò rerum angustiâ et egestate exinde laborat, ... Sanctuarium, in quo clerici tam temerè ordinati ossa sepelientur, erit latronum duorum, à patrato homicidio redeuntium, domicilium; et à quodam filio lucis, qui in partibus Australibus nasceretur, annis cxx. possidebitur. *Tr. Th.* p. 145.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 18 b. 2.

ISed docúaid Pa*traic* aDagurt [1] *ocus* amMaig Dola inAirdd Dáilauig. F*or*othaigestar cella and .i. Dún Cruithne. — Faracaib eps*cop* Beóaed ann iarnoentaid et*urr*u *ocus* Eogan — Secht ndom*naige* doPa*traic* laCian*acht*, imDomn*ach* Brechmaigi,[2] *ocus* Domnach Airthir Ardda. Atá tip*ra* Pa*traic* ann.

ISannsin tánic Sétna m*acc* Dróna m*aicc* Tig*er*naig coPa*traic* corumbaithess, *ocus* is ann sin robendach aséitig nal*acht*ai *ocus* ingein [3] bái innabrú i. Cianán Daimlíacc: *ocus* rolég laPa*traic*, *ocus* isannsin dorarggerts*om* [4] diChainnech *ocus* commad leiss aferand sin.

Dochoid íarsin isnalLei do*n* Bandai airthir, ubi non capiebant [5] homines pisces nisi in nocte usque ad illud tempus. Deinde imperauit eis Patricius ut in die caperent; et síc erit usque in [6] finem seculi.

Luid Pa*traic* autem [8] [inDail Araidi *ocus* [7]] inDáil Ríata. Isandsin dodech*aid* Doro ri doCharnn Sétnai antúaid, cocuala scretgaire innanóiden asintalmain. Scailt*er* in carnd, taidbegar intadnacul: dothoet bolud fína impu asindadnuc*ul*. Atcíat inm*ac* béu ocin[9]ma-th*air* mairb, banscál atbath do c*ri*thgalar [10] dob*ert* [19. a. 1.] léu darmuir doc*um* nÉrend et enixa [11] est infantulum post mortem, qui .uii. diebus, ut fertur, uixit in tumulo. "Olc sin!" olinrí. "Bid he aainm,"

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[1] aDaiggurt, E.

[2] In R. and E. the next four words follow *Eogan* in line 4.

[3] angein, E.

[4] dorairngertsom, E.

[5] capiebunt, R.

[6] ad, E.

[7] Doluid Patraic post haec, E.

[8] Sic E.

[9] ocon, E.

[10] di crithghalar, E.

[11] Sic E.; enyca, R.

Patrick went out of Daigort and out of Mag Dola into Ard Dáilauig.[1] He founded churches there, namely Dún Cruithne.[2] He left bishop Beo-aed [3] there, after (making) an union between him [4] and Eogan. Seven churches belong to Patrick in Cianacht, including Domnach Brechmaige and Domnach Airthir Ardda. Patrick's well is there.

There came Sétna son of Dróna, son of Tigernach,[5] to Patrick, who baptized him; and there he blessed his [Sétna's] pregnant wife and the child in her womb, namely, Cianán of Daimliac; and he read with Patrick, and there Patrick prophesied of Cainnech and [said] that that land should be his.

Thereafter he went into the Lei, on the east of the (river) Bann, where up to that time men used to catch fish only at night. Then Patrick ordered that they should catch them by day; and thus shall it be till the end of the world.

Then Patrick went into Dál Araide and (afterwards) into Dál Riata. Then came Doro king of Carn Sétnai in the north. He heard the crying of the infant out of the earth. The cairn is broken up, the grave is opened. A smell of wine comes round them out of the grave. They see the live son with the dead mother, a woman who had died of ague. She was taken by them oversea to Ireland, and after her death brought forth the infant, who lived, they say, seven days in the cairn. "*Olc* ('bad') is that," saith the king. "Let Olcán[6] be his name," saith the druid. Patrick baptized him. He is bishop Olcán of

[1] in regionem *Dag-ard* . . . in agro *Ardaoluigh*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 146.

[2] *Dun-cruthen*, ibid.

[3] *Beatum*, ibid.

[4] Lit. them.

[5] Sedna ex Trena filio Tigernani nepos, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 146.

[6] id est, misellum, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, a. 1.

ol indrúi, "Olcán," quem Pat*riciu*s babtizauit. Ipse est episcopus Olcán dimuint*ir* Patr*aic* inAirtiur [Maigi [1]] soirchaithir Dáil Ríatai.

Ocus roleg m*acc* Nissi *Con*diri apsalmu [2] icPat*raic*, et indignatus sororem illius male[di]xit cedens fratr*em* tribus uicibus..uii. enim die truncata est manus ipsius, isde itá [3] Carn*n* Láma.

Foranic Pat*raic* failti isintír ladam*acc* déacc Eircc, *ocus* rorádi Fergus Mor m*acc* Eircc fr*i*Pat*raic*, "dia[nu]*m*mairmitesi [4] mobrathir ocrai*n*d aferainn [5] athoperainnsi duitsiu," *ocus* roedbart Pat*raic* doepscop Olcán inraind sin .i. Airth*er* Maigi. Asp*er*t Pat*raic* fr*i*Ferg*us*, "cinipmór dobr*íg* latbrat*hair* indíu istú b*us* [6] rí, bid húait rig cubráth istírsi [7] *ocus* f*or*Fortrinn," *ocus* iss*ed* ón rochomallad inÆdán m*acc* Gabrán rogab Alb*ain* [8] aréicin.

Forácaib Pat*raic* mór docellaib *ocus* doc*on*gbálaib [9] icrich Dálriata. Fundauit Fótraid *ocus* f*or*acaib díis diamuntir indi .i. cruimmt*hir* Cathbad *ocus* Dimmán [10] manach, et fundauit Ráith Mudáin. F*or*ácaib cruimt*hir* nErclach inti. Forác*aib* epsc*op* Ném hiTel*aig* cenéoil Oeng*us*a, daChenn[f]indán inDomnuch Camri [11] hiCothrugu. Enán inDruim [F]indich, epsc*op* Fíachrai iCuil Ectr*ann*. *Ocus* robe*n*nach Pát*raic* Dún Sobargi, *ocus* atá tipr*a* Pát*raic* ann *ocus* forác*aib* br*éthir* fair.

Luid inDáil nAraithi íarsuidiu. Forránic dá m*ac* décc [12] Cóilbad arachinn.[13] Arb*er*tai *con*gaba[d] [1] dú itá Cell Glass. Dlomtha dó ass, *ocus* islessom béoss. *Ocus* f*or*ácaib díis diamunt*ir* inti .i. Glaisiuc *ocus* cruimt*hir*

[1] Sic E.
[2] asalmu, E.
[3] atta, E.
[4] dianamairmitise, E. We should perhaps read *dianummairmitnigthesa*.
[5] aferaind, E.
[6] bes, E.
[7] hisintirso, E.
[8] Alpain, E.
[9] dichellaib 7 dichongbalaib, E.
[10] Dimmain, E.
[11] Cáinri, E.
[12] deacc, E.
[13] arachiund, E.

Patrick's household in Airthir Maige, a noble city of Dál Riatai.

And Macc Nisse of Condire read his psalms with Patrick; *et indignatus* etc.[1] Hence is Carn Láma ('the cairn of the hand').[1]

Patrick found a welcome in the land with Erc's twelve sons; and Fergus the Great, son of Erc,[2] said to Patrick: "If my brother respects me in dividing his land, I would give it to thee." And Patrick offered to bishop Olcán that part, to wit, Airthir Maige. Said Patrick to Fergus: "Though thy brother hath not much esteem for thee to-day, it is thou that shalt be king. The kings in this country and over Fortrenn shall be from thee for ever." And this was fulfilled in Aedán son of Gabrán,[3] who took Scotland by force.

Patrick left many churches and cloisters in the district of Dál Riata. He founded Fothrad, and left therein two of his household, namely Presbyter Cathbad and Dimman the Monk. And he founded Raith Mudain. He left Presbyter Erclach therein. He left bishop Nehemiah in Telach Ceneóil Oengusa, two Cennfindáns in Domnach Cáinri, in Cothraige, Enán in Drumman Findich, bishop Fíachra in Cúil Echtrann. And Patrick blessed Dún Sobairci, and Patrick's well is there, and he left a blessing[4] thereon.

After this he went into Dál Araidi. He found Cóilbad's twelve sons before him. He proposed to take the place wherein Cell Glass stands (now). He was refused, and [yet] he hath it still. And he left therein two of his household, namely Glaisiuc and Presbyter Libur,

[1] The Latin is hopelessly corrupt. The meaning is that Macc Nisse having gone astray with a girl (Patrick's sister or niece according to Colgan), the saint prayed that his hand might be cut off. "Et ecce res mira! manus *Mac-nessij* extemplò abscissa in terram cadit, et in perpetuam rei mirabilis, iustaeque vindictae memoriam, in loco qui exinde *Carn lamha* .i. tumulus manûs, appellatus, tumulata reconditur, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 146.

[2] Erci junior filius, *ibid.*, p. 147.

[3] ex eius semine procedente, *ibid.*

[4] lit. a word.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, a. 2.

Libair. *Ocus* arber*tai* da*no* con*gabad dú itá Lat*hrach* Pa*traic*. Isandsin atá Daniel aingel *ocus* abacc Pa*traic*. Isocco itá tip*ra* Pat*raic*, Slan aainm. Fuf*r*ith and nuuechuir[1] Pat*raic*. Gabais iar*um* a laim Saran m*acc* Coelbad ass, *ocus* gataiss Pat*raic* nem *ocus* tal*main* airi.

Arroet im*morro* Conlę m*acc* Coilb*ad* Pat*raic* *con*humalóit,[2] *ocus* adrobart dó Domnach Combair. *Ocus* romb*en*nach Pa*traic* *ocus* fo*r*ácaib nobeitis ríg *ocus* airig día cenél cobráth. Et fundauit ilcella inDáil Araidi .i. Domnach Mór Maigi Damóerna *ocus* Raith Sithę,—*ocus* fo*r*ac*aib* díis diamunt*ir* isuidiu—*ocus* Telach, .i. Cell *Con*adan, *ocus* Gluari ilLátharnu—*ocus* m*acc* Lessi[3] indi—et fundauit Glend-indechta, *ocus* Imlech [Ch]luanę iSimniu—Coeman indi—*ocus* Rath epsc*uip* [F]indich itír Oc nDarca-chéin.[4]

IArnalali aimser dob*er*t inSaran rémráthe dóine imbroit icrích[5] Dáil Ríatai, *con*nairnic f*r*is epsc*op* Olcán. Batir ocnemela f*r*íssuidiu intruaig. Roscuinnig Olcan *ocus* niroset *acht* madob*e*rad nem doSarán ari. "Ni cumgaimsi ón ém, ol tell Pat*raic* ariut." "Mairfessu[6] da*no* domunt*ir* immutsu *acht* tú thoinur, *ocus* mairfit*er*[7] inb*r*atso uili. *Ocus* nách dú ifogebsa tailcenn dosbér fogin claidib uili." Corothai[r]nger epsc*op* Olcan nem dó. Luid[8] iar*um* antúaid dotab*air*t réiri P*atraic*. Adchúass dó bare Pat*raic* fris dithogu *ocus* baithis *ocus* nem dothairgiri dondí aratallsom. *Con*arnactar

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[1] nuaechuir, E.
[2] conhumolloit, E.
[3] Laisse, E.
[4] óe nDarcuchan, E.
[5] acrich, E.
[6] mairbfesa, E.
[7] mairbthir, E.
[8] Doluid, E.

and he proposed moreover, to take the place in which Lathrach Pátraic[1] ('Patrick's site') is [now]. Therein is Daniel [who is called from his purity] "the angel" and [from his small size] "Patrick's dwarf." By him is Patrick's well. Slan ('healthful') is its name. There Patrick's *nua echuir*[2] was found. Now, Saran son of Coelbad expelled him thence, and Patrick deprived him of heaven and earth.

Howbeit Conlae son of Coelbad received Patrick with humility, and offered to him Domnach Combair. And Patrick blessed him and left [as a benediction] that there would be kings and princes of his race for ever. And he founded many churches in Dál Araide, namely, Domnach Mór Maige Damoerna, and Raith Sithe—and in this he left two of his household—and Telach, that is, Cell Conadain, and Gluare in Latharna—and Macc-Lessi is therein. And he founded Glenn Indechta and Imlech Cluane in Semne—Coemán is therein,—and Raith Epscuip Findich in the country of the Húi Darca-chein.

After a certain time the aforesaid Sarán brought men in bondage[4] into the province of Dál Riata. And bishop Olcán met him. The wretches were a-wailing to him. Olcán asked for them and he obtained them not, except [on the condition] that he should give heaven to Sarán therefor. "Verily," [saith Olcán] "I cannot do that, since Patrick hath taken it from thee." "Then I will slay thy people about thee, save thee alone, and all these captives shall be slain. And in every place in which I shall find a shaveling, I will put them all under a sword's mouth." So bishop Olcán promised heaven to Sarán. Then Olcán went from the north to do Patrick's will. He had been told of Patrick's anger against him for having promised a blessing (?) and baptism, and heaven to him from whom Patrick had taken them away.

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[1] *Lettir-phadruic*, Colgan.

[2] lit. 'new key,' probably some relic of Patrick.

[3] i.e. 'Bishop Findech's Stronghold'; à Vinnoco . . . appellatur, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 147.

[4] 'out of,' if we follow E., which here agrees with Colgan, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, b. 1. *fri*Cluain Fiacnę antuaith fo*r*sintsligid cechslechtain[1] asalailiu. "Incarput taris," olPa*traic*. "Ní lomar," olintara, "ad[u]l tarepsco*p*." Asbe*rt* f*r*is nibad ard achongb*ail* ital*main*, *ocus* nuregtáis atéora maila tairsi, midgla, ǽs, toithe fola, am*al* rochomallad inorggain orte indi [l]aScandal rí Dalaraidi *ocus* laCoin-cuara*n*; iṅgnis simul iterum laEchdich m*acc* Bressail. "*Ocus* aferann bid lasin m*acc* ṁbecc fil fón téig," olPat*raic*, "dit muintir fén, .i. m*acc* Nissi *Con*dere, *ocus* lanech narogenair cose, .i. Senan Insi Cathich.[2] "Bid uasal duairliud hinim." Chin Sarán, [tra], ise*d* rolaad fo*r*eps*cop* Olcán sund.

Brathir im*morro* Sarán .i. Nadsluáig robbu humalside doPat*raic*, *ocus* ic cimbi[3] robúi archiunn Pa*traic*. "Ro[t]biasu[4] limsa," olsé, "inat doreicclesa." "Cairm itibri dam?" olPa*traic*. "Fo*r*ur naBanna tiar," olNatslúaig, "dú itaat inm*aicc* ic loscud naratha." "Bid lim," olPatr*aic*, "cena .i. ua damsa *ocus* duitsiu bías ann .i. epsco*p* Coirpri m*acc* Deggill m*aicc* Nadsl*úaig*, ishé fil iCúil Raithin fo*r*ur na Bandæ anair. Epsco*p* Brucach [19 b. 2] fil iRáthaib Maigi Óenaich ic*r*ich *Con*aill, ishé dorat *grad*[5] for epsco*p* Coir*pri*. Pat*raic* da*no* dorat *grad*[6] for epsco*p* Brugach *con*idúa doP*atraic* asinduál sin. Dam*acc* decc,[7] t*ra*, Coil*baid*, nítarat Pa*traic* mallachtain fo*r*nech ṅdíb *acht* fo*r*sinríg namá .i. fo*r*Sarán, ishé dorigni anumaldaóit [*sic*] dó.

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[1] cach sechtain, E.
[2] altich, E. and Colg. *Tr. Th.* p. 147.
[3] icc imbi, R.
[4] Sic E.
[5] gráda, E.
[6] grada, E.
[7] déac, E.

And they met at Cluain Fiacnae in the north on the road [1] . . . . "[Drive] the chariot over him!" saith Patrick. "I dare not," saith the charioteer, "[make] it go over a bishop." Said Patrick to him that his cloister would not be high on earth, and that its three evils would come over it, [namely], *midgla*, age [and] stench of blood; as was fulfilled in the slaughter that was made [2] therein by Scandal king of Dál-Araide, and [again] by Cú-Cúarain, along with the fire (with which it was burnt), by Echaid son of Bresal. "And his land shall belong to the little boy who is carrying the box," saith Patrick, ["and who is one] of thine own household," namely, MaccNisse of Condere, "and to one who hath not yet been born," namely Senán of Inis Cathaig. "Thy merit shall be exalted in heaven." Sarán's guilt was here imputed to [3] bishop Olcán.

Howbeit Sarán's brother, namely Nat-sluaig, he was humble to Patrick, and in bondage was he when Patrick arrived. "Thou shalt have from me," saith he, "the site of thy cell." "In what place dost thou give it to me?" saith Patrick. "On the brink of the Bann, in the west," saith Natsluaig, "the place in which the children are burning the fern." "It shall be mine," saith Patrick, "however. A [spiritual] descendant of mine and of thine shall be there, namely bishop Coirbre, son of Deggell, son of Natsluaig. It is he who is in Cúil Raithin [4] on the brink of the Bann in the east. Bishop Brucach, who is in Ratha Maige Oenaich in Crích Conaill, is he who conferred orders on bishop Coirbre. Patrick, then, had conferred orders on bishop Brucach, so that in that matter Coirbre is a descendant of Patrick's. Now, as to Coilbad's twelve sons, Patrick left a curse on none of them, but only on the king, on Sarán. It was he that had shown disrespect [5] to him.

[1] cùm peruenisset (scil. Olcanus) in conspectum, genuflectendo paulatim accedit, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 147.

[2] Lit. slain.

[3] Lit. cast upon.

[4] Lit. done inhumility.

[5] *Cuil-raithen*, id est secessus filicis, *Tr. Th.* p. 148.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 19, b. 2.

IS donchursin,[1] *tra*, donc Pat*raic* [leis [2]] epscop Gúasa*cht* *macc* Milc[h]on ac*r*ich Dál Araidi. Ise *for*ácaib Pat*raic* higGránard *ocus* nadiEimir [3] da*no*, di ingin Mil*chon*, ithé fil iClúain Brónaig, ut diximus.

ISs*ed*, *tra*, luid [4] Patraic acrích Dáil Áraidi forFertais Tuamma, coUu T*ur*tri. Robái .xl. noidq*ui* iFindobuir *ocus* folam*as*tar cathraig dochongb*ail* and ol ba immaircede leis Loch nEchach dind dala [5] leith di *ocus* Slíab Calland dind leith ailiu. Dodech*aid* Carthenn Mór, rí intíri, cuccai, corodlom ass. Tallsom da*no* rígi airis*om* *ocus* arachl*aind*. Dorat Pat*raic* iar*um* rígi doChairthiund Biucc robói forlongaiss réna bráithir, *ocus* rombathess Pat*raic* *ocus* robe*n*nach asétig [6] *ocus* ingein bói inabrú. "Modébródh," olPat*raic*, "bid lán dirath Dé ingein fil itbrúsa, *ocus* bidmeissi be*n*nachf*as* cailli forachend." Mogan ingen Ferg*us*a Móir *maicc* Nissi diDail Riatai isí inben, *ocus* Treæ ingen *maicc* Cairthinn issí angein bói inabrú. *Ocus* isPat*raic* rosén cailli [7] fo*r*acenn, ut profetauit. Indaingil im*morro* tucsat incailli donim *ocus* rosuidigset forachend *ta*rasúili sís. *Ocus* tindarscan [20 a. 1] Pat*raic* athocbáil súas. "Ced nach [maith[8]]" arTrea, "abith am*al* foruirmed?" "Maith ém da*no*," olPat*raic*. Ní accasi iar*um* inna bíu acht anat*con*naire tresin caillisin.

Secht ndomnaigi doPat*raic* laUu Turtri .i. Domnach Fainre, Domach Riascad, Dom*nach* Fothirbe, Domnac*h* Rigduinn, Dom*nach* Brai*n*, Dom*nach* Mæláin, Domnach Libuir.

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[1] dinchursin, E.
[2] Sic E.
[3] hiGranaurd 7 nat di Emir, E.
[4] dolnid, E.
[5] dindala, E.
[6] rombendach aseitig, E.
[7] ishe Patraic rosen caille, E.
[8] Sic E.
[9] accaisi, E.

Now on that occasion Patrick brought with him bishop Guasacht son of [his old master] Milchu, out of the province of Dál Araide. He it is whom Patrick left in Granard, and the two Emers also, two daughters of Milchu, it is they who are in Clúain Bronaig, *ut diximus.*

Then Patrick went out of the province of Dál-Araide by Fertais Tuamma,[1] unto the Húi-Tuirtri. Forty nights he abode in Findabur, and he desired to build a cloister there, for it seemed to him convenient, Loch nEchach [being] on the one side thereof[2] and Sliab Calland on the other side.[3] Cairthenn the Great, king of the country, went to him and told him [to go] thence. So Patrick took the kingship away from him and from his children. Then Patrick gave the kingdom to Cairthenn the Little, who was in exile because of his brother; and Patrick baptized him and blessed his wife and the child that lay in her womb. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "the child that is in thy womb will be full of the grace of God, and it is I that will bless the veil on its head." Mogan daughter of Fergus the Great, son of Nesse, of Dál Riata, she is the woman, and Trea daughter of Cairthenn's son, she is the child that lay in her womb. And it is Patrick who sained the veil on her head, as he foretold. Howbeit, the angels brought the veil from heaven and set it over her head, down over her eyes. And Patrick began to lift it up. "Why," saith Trea, "is it not good that it should bide as it was placed?" "Good, indeed, then," saith Patrick. During her life she saw nothing save what she beheld through that veil.

Seven churches [belong] to Patrick in Húi-Tuirtri, namely, Domnach Fainre, Domnach Riascad,[4] Domnach Fothirbe, Domnach Rigduinn, Domnach Brain, Domnach Maeláin, Domnach Libuir.[5]

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[1] per *Fersait Tuama*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 148.

[2] ab Oriente, *ibid.*

[3] ab Occidente, *Tr. Th.* p. 148.

[4] *Riascaigh*, *ibid.*

[5] *libeir*, ibid.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, a. 1.

ISed dochoid Pat*raic* iarsin gu[1] Firu Gabre *ocus* nirptar humail f*ris*. Patricius dixit, noregtaíss iartain cocíís día chillsom irré gaimrid, *ocus* nogebtais echtarchen*é*la atír iartain. Quod impletum est.

ISs*ed* dochóid iarsin coFiru Imchlair, et babtizauit et benedixit eos. F*or*áccaib cruimther Columb leo *ocus* lebor ortosa Pa*traic* *ocus* achlocc leis.

Biit da*no* naferta coso indíu.

O f*or*orbai, tra, Pat*raic* arith mbúada isin bith frecnairc am*al* roraide Pol aps*tal*: "certamen bonum certaui, cursum consummaui, fidem seruaui, de cet*er*o repossita est mihi corona iustit[i]e, quam mihi Deus reddet in illa [die[2]] iustus iudex,[3] arroet commain *ocus* sacar*baic* ó eps*cop* Tásach.

Atát[4] athaissi *ocus* areilgi[5] sund *co*nonoir *ocus* air*mitin* lasindecl*ais* tal*mandai*. Cid mór aonóir *ocus* aair*mitiu* sund isnaib talmandaib, bid mó, et reliqua.

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[1] co, E.
[2] Sic E.
[3] Here R. adds 'reddett;' E. 'redet.'
[4] ataat, E.
[5] areilci, E.

Thereafter Patrick went to the Men of Gabrae, and they were not obedient to him. Patrick said that they would come afterwards with tribute to his church in winter-time, and that foreign tribes would take their land afterwards. Which thing was fulfilled.

Thereafter he went to the Men of Imchlar, and he baptized and blessed them. He left Presbyter Columb with them, and with him (were) Patrick's book of ritual and his bell.

So far to-day are the miracles [of Patrick].

Now, when Patrick had completed his victorious career in the present world,—as Paul the apostle said: "I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day"—he received from bishop Tassach communion and sacrifice.

His relics and remains are here in honour and veneration with the earthly Church. Though great be the honour and veneration for him here on earth, greater will be, &c.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, a. 1.

[PARS TERTIA.]

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis. INSpir*ut* noeb ótá cec*h* degdán *ocus* cechrath dondEcl*ais* cechtardai nafet*ar*laici *ocus* ind[n]ufiad*naissi*, IShe roraidi anath-[20. a. 2.]-esc[1] c*um*bairsi tre gin ind*rig*fátha Dabid m*aic*c Iese, de quo scriptum est: "unxit Samuel Dabid in regem et profetam."

IShe in Dabid sin dorigni tri chóecta psalm do adhmol*ad* inChoimded[2] tre metu*r* fileta. Oen, di*no*,[3] dona molthaib sin dorigne D*abi*d donChoimd*id* in sechtmad psalm[4] arsescait asafo*r*ba hifil inlínesi .i. mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis, i.e., per signa laudabilis; quae siue in angelis suis, *siue* in hominibus sanctis qui eius iusionibus obsecundant operatur ipse. Est enim qui facit mirabilia magna solus, unde Iacobus Apostolus dicit: Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, desursum est, discendens a Patre luminum. At vero tunc mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis in conspectu gentium revelatur quando eis regna celorum pollicentibus (.i. doctoribus) dedit potestatem infirmos curandi, mortuos suscitandi, leprosos mundandi,[5] demones ieciendi, cecos illuminandi, claudos et sordos sanandi, et cetera. Huiuscemodi uero[6] magnitudinem promissorum probat magnitudo signorum. Sic[ut] ergo Deus mirabilis est in sanctis, sic sancti quoque, qui haec facta[7] faciunt, laudabiles sunt in Deo, qui[8] quicquid miraculorum agunt, non suis uiribus sed Dei auxilio deputant. Igitur qui Deo dant laudes seipsos faciunt esse laudabiles, et qui illi dant honorem sibi adquirunt sine dubio dignitatem.

Oen, di*no*,[3] donanoebaib *ocus* dona fir[20.b.1]-énaib tresa tánic mol*ad* *ocus* adamrug*ud* inChoimdedh fía[d]dáinib tresnafirta *ocus* tresnamirbaili[9] dorigni Dia t*rid*,[10] octo-

[1] intathesc, E.
[2] Sic E.; aucboimdegh, R.
[3] Or perhaps di*du* = O. Ir. *didiu*.
[4] .i. Exsurgit, E.
[5] Sic E.; sanandi, R.
[6] Sic E.; ut, R.
[7] Sic E.; c̄a, R.; omnia, Colg.
[8] quam, R.
[9] tresnafirtu 7 tresna mirbuli, E.
[10] trit, E., where it is written over tresna.

The Third Part.

Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis. The Holy Spirit from whom cometh every goodly gift and every grace to the Church of each of the two, the Old Law and the New Testament, He it is that uttered this short declaration through the mouth of the royal prophet David son of Jesse, of whom it hath been written, "Samuel anointed David king and prophet."

It is that David who made in poetic metre thrice fifty psalms to praise the Lord. Now one of those praises that David made for the Lord is the sixty-seventh psalm, in the end whereof is this line, namely, *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*, that is, praiseworthy through the signs that He himself effects, whether in his angels or in holy men who obey his commands. For He it is who doth great miracles alone. Whence saith James the Apostle: "Every good and every perfect gift is from above and cometh down from the Father of lights." But truly God is revealed in the sight of the heathen as "marvellous in his saints" when he hath given to those who promise the kingdom of heaven, namely to the teachers, power to cure the sick, to raise the dead, to heal lepers, to cast out devils, to give sight to the blind, to heal the halt and the deaf, and so forth. So that the greatness of the signs proves the greatness of the promises. As, then, God is marvellous in saints, so also are the saints, who do these things, praiseworthy in God. And those who perform any miracles ascribe them not to their own power but to God's help. Wherefore those who give praise to God make themselves praiseworthy, and those who give Him honour, without doubt gain credit for themselves.

Now, one of the saints and of the just, through whom came praise and glorification of the Lord before men by reason of the miracles and marvels which God wrought

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, b. 1. dú*s*cud marb, oc glanad clam, oc indarba demna, oc ic dall, *ocus* bacach *ocus* bodar *ocus* æsa cecha tedma olchenai, infirén, uasal, airmitnech, diata airtach inecmong naréasc *ocus* nahaimsiri .i. sanctus Patricius episcopus.

Forácaib Pa*trai*c crumther Con*æ*d inDomnuch Airthir Maigi hicrich Uu B*ri*uin [1] intuaiscirt. [Fiusam fodomnach ann.[2]] Luidsom indiaid Pa*traic* asindlucc sin [3] corrici infid sair. "Cid dotucc?" olPa*traic*. "Ni rucaim form tingnaissiu, asruith." "ISdedbir am duit," olPat*raic*, "ni bailet m*aic*c bethad imat [4] and, acht fer ista mucca hitferand cubrath, nif*or*derggfaither ferand do puirt." Quod probauimus. Doluid [5] *Con*nacan m*ac*c Colman m*aic*c Néill Frossig hisatír cosluag. Fogluaset .ix. uiros ab uno ligno: artifex rothaich inailithir decollatus est .uiii. vero in agro eius liberati sunt.

Luid iarsin cuTelaig [6] Mane *ocus* foranaic failti la Mane m*ac*c *Con*laid. Dorigne humalloit dó *ocus* rombendach [Pátraic [2]] *ocus* rob*en*nach asétig cumbu alachta, comb*er*t dí ingin. Rosbaithess Pa*traic ocus* rosen caille [20. b. 2] f*or*acend, *ocus* f*or*acaib senóir leu diaf*or*citul. Ni tharaill Pat*raic* inMachai don chursin,[7] a*cht* ised dochoid, hícrich UaCremthainn: f*or*fothaigest*ar* [8] cella *ocus* congb*al*a and.

Fecht and oc tuidecht doPa*tr*aic doClochar antuaid dofuargaib [9] athrénfer dar doraid and, .i. epsco*p* m*ac*c Chairthinn. Iss*ed* adrub*air*t iarturgbáil [10] Pa*tra*ic, "Uch, úch!" "Mo debróth," olPat*raic*, "nipu gnath in focul

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[1] uabriuin, E. Read UamBriuin.
[2] Sic E.
[3] hisin, E.
[4] immatt, E.
[5] dialluid, E.
[6] dothelaig, E.
[7] dinchuirsin, E.
[8] forothaigestar, E.
[9] dafuarcaib, E.
[10] iar turcbail, E.

through him—raising the dead to life, cleansing lepers, casting out devils, healing the blind and halt and deaf and all manner of diseased folk besides—[is] the noble, venerable, just man for whom there is a festival on the occasion of this season and time, to wit, Sanctus Patricius Episcopus.

Patrick left Presbyter Conaed in Domnach Airthir Maige in the province of the Northern Húi Briuin. Conaed rested there throughout Sunday. He went after Patrick from that place as far as the Fid ('wood') westward. "What hath brought thee?" saith Patrick. "I cannot bear thy absence, O elder," [saith Conaed]. "Truly" [saith Patrick], "thou hast reason; there are no sons of Life around thee there, but . . . swine will feed on thy land for ever.[1] [Howbeit the] land of thy place shall not be reddened" [with bloodshed]. *Quod probavimus*, when Connacán son of Colmán, son of Níall the Showery, came into the land with an army. They move nine men from one log:[2] an artist who fled into another land was beheaded (there), but the eight who remained in Conaed's land were set free.

He afterwards went to Telach Maine ('Maine's hill'), and he found a welcome with Maine son of Conlaed, who showed respect to him. And Patrick blessed him, and blessed his wife so that she became with child and brought forth two daughters. Patrick baptized them, and sained a veil on their heads, and left an old man with them to teach them. Patrick did not proceed to Armagh on that occasion: but he went into the district of Húi-Cremthainn, and there he founded churches and cloisters.

Once as Patrick was coming from Clochar from the north, his champion, to wit, bishop Macc Cairthinn, lifted him over a difficult place. This is what he said after lifting Patrick: "Oh, oh!" "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it was not usual for thee to utter that

[1] sed viri sanguinum, et pecorum raptores, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 149.

[2] sub quadam arbore in agro illius Ecclesiae sedebant. *Tr. Th.* p. 149.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 20, b. 2.

sin doràd duitsiu." "Amsenoir *ocus* amlobar," olep*scop* *macc* Cairthinn, "*ocus* *for*ácbaissiu mocomalta[1] hi cellaib *ocus* meisi fós *for* *co*nair." "Fotuigebsa da*no* icill," olPa*traic*, "napa roac*us*, arnapadimicnithi, nipa rochian, da*no*, coroastar immathigid etronn." *Ocus* *for*ácaib Pa*traic* íarom espo*c* *macc* Cairth*inn* hiClo*chur*, *ocus* inDomnach Airgit less, doralad doPa*traic* donim diamboi *for*muir octud*echt* dochum nErenn.

Luid Pa*traic* iarsin hiLemuin .i. Findabair ainm na tailcha inropritchad Pa*traic*. T*ri*láa *ocus* teora aidchi do iconp*roi*cept, *ocus* nirpu sía léu oldaas oenuáir. ISandsin *co*natail B*ri*gitt f*ri*sinp*ra*icept *ocus* nírléic Pa*traic* ad*us*cud, *ocus* roíarfa*cht* Pa*traic* disi íarsin cid atch*on*nairc. Dixit illa:[2] "At*con*darc senada[3] gela *ocus* dumu finna *ocus* gorta gelai,[4] daim breca inandiaid *ocus* daim duba iarmu.[5] Post haec uidi oués et sues et canes et lupos inter se discordantes. At*con*narc iarsin dichloich, indara [21 a. 1] cloch bec *ocus* araile mór. Rosenaich bróen fo*rr*u diblínaib. Fo*r*[r]ubart inlía bec f*ri*sinmbræn *ocus* dobruchtais óebli airgidi ass. Rosercai im*morro* inlia mór." "ITé insin," olPa*traic*, "da *macc* Echach *maicc* Criamth*ainn*."[6] Roc*r*eti Coirp*ri* Damarcait, *ocus* robe*nn*ach Pa*traic* *ocus* robennach asíl. Rodiultai im*morro* Bresal *ocus* romallach Pa*traic*. Ruc, t*ra*, Pa*traic* fo*r*sinnaislingi olchenai innahi Brigti am*al* as naird*ire*.

Doroidi*us*aig Pa*traic* Ech*aig* *macc* C*ri*mthaind ab s. Rotecht Echu ingin .i. Cinnu. Ropuáil dia ath*air* aernaidm do fiur sochineluch .i. dom*acc* Corm*aic* *maicc* Coirpri *maicc* Neill. Sanctum ambulans Patricium cum

[1] muchomaltu, E.
[2] alla, R.
[3] Sic E.; senagha, R.
[4] dombu finda 7 gortu gela, E.
[5] iarma, E.
[6] craimthin, E.

word." "I am [now] an old man and I am infirm," saith bishop Macc Cairthinn, "and thou hast left my comrades in churches, and I am still on the road." "I will leave thee, then, in a church," saith Patrick, "that shall not be very near, lest there be familiarity (?), and shall not be very far, so that mutual visiting between us be continued." And Patrick then left bishop Macc Cairthinn in Clochar, and with him [he placed] the [silver reliquary called] Domnach-Airgit, which had been sent to Patrick from heaven when he was at sea coming towards Ireland.

Thereafter Patrick went into Lemain. Findabair is the name of the hill on which Patrick preached. For three days and three nights he was preaching, and it seemed to them not longer than one hour. Then Brigit fell asleep at the preaching, and Patrick let her not be wakened. And Patrick asked her afterwards what she had seen? *Dixit illa:* "I saw white assemblies [1] and light-coloured oxen and white cornfields. Speckled oxen behind them, and black oxen after these. Afterwards I saw sheep and swine and dogs and wolves quarrelling with each other. Thereafter I saw two stones, one of the twain a small stone and the other a large. A shower dropt on them both. The little stone increased at the shower, and silvery sparks would break forth from it. The large stone, however, wasted away." "Those," saith Patrick, "are the two sons of Echaid son of Crimthann." Coirbre Damargait believed, and Patrick blessed him and blessed his seed. Bressal, however, refused [to become a Christian], and Patrick cursed him. Patrick, besides, expounded the vision of Brigit in an excellent manner.[2]

Patrick raised Echaid son of Crimthann from death. Echaid had a daughter, to wit, Cinnu. Her father desired to wed her to a man of good lineage, namely to the son of Cormac, son of Coirbre son of Níall. As she

[1] candidatorum synodum, *Tr. Th.* p. 150.

[2] visionem, quae erat et praesentis et futuri status Ecclesiae Hiberniae imago, coram adstantibus exposuit S. Patricius, *Tr. Th.* p. 150.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 21, a. 1.

soc[i]is, obuiam inuenit. Ropritach Pa*trai*c di corosocomlad don tairggertaig[1] sp*ir*talta, *ocus* rocreiti, *ocus* dorochaisc Pat*raic*, *ocus* rosbaitsi Patr*aic* post. Ambói iar*um* aathair *for*aiarairsiu[2] diatab*air*t diafiur, dodech*aid* si *ocus* Pa*traic* diaacallaim. Rogauit Patricius ut patri[3] æterno copul[an]dam Sponso permitteret. Rocomarleic da*no* Echu aní sin dia tarta nem dó airi,[4] *ocus* *con*arochomecnichthi fadéin do baithis. Dorairggert Pa*traic* indéidi[5] sin ciarbo dodaing[6] leis. Rochomarleic iar*um* inní aingen .i. Cinnu do ocomul do-Ch*rist*, *ocus* doronai Pa*traic* combo bandescipul dó, *ocus* rosaithni dialaili óig dia f*or*citul .i. Cechtumbair Dromma Dubain, in quo loco ambe uirgines pauscantur.[7]

Iarnilbliadnaib im*morro* intEchu remráiti rosiacht dered abethad, *ocus* an doairistis acharaitt [21 a. 2] imme, roráidi: "nirim-adnaigid," olse, "cotí Pat*raic*." *Ocus* o f*or*orbai Echu nabri[a]th*ra*su[8] rofuid aspirut. Patr*aic*, im*morro*, isand robái ocSaball Pat*raic* inUlltaib, *ocus* f*or*oillsig*ed* dó etsecht Echach *ocus* romidair athascnam doClochar m*acc* nDomini.[9] Isandsin arránic Ech*aich* esanmide per .xxiiii. horas. O dochoid Pa*traic* istech hirraibi incorp, rolái immach inlucht robói immoncorp. Rofill glúni donChoimd*id* *ocus* dofarlaic déra *ocus* rogaid, et dixit post clara voce, "O rex Echu, in nomine omnipotentis Dei, surge!" et statim ad serui Dei vocem surrexit. O deisid iar*um* cocobsaid loquebatur, *ocus* rosoad cói *ocus* golgairi inpop*uil* in gaudium. Et tunc statim sanctus Patricius regem de ratione fide[i] instruxit et bautizauit; *ocus* *forcon*gart Pa*traic* [fair[10]] fiad inpop*ul* coro aisneded dopianaib nane-

[1] tarngertaig, E., leg. tairngertaid?

[2] foraiarairsi, E.

[3] Read "patrem ut filiam"?

[4] aire, E.

[5] andeidi, E.

[6] dogaigg, R.; dodaig, E.

[7] pausant, E.

[8] -sa, E.

[9] Doimni, E.

[10] Sic E.

was walking she met holy Patrick with his companions. Patrick preached to her to unite herself to the Spiritual Spouse, and she believed, and followed Patrick, and Patrick baptized her afterwards. Now, while her father was a-seeking her to give her to her husband, she and Patrick went to converse with him. Patrick asked her father to allow her to be united to the Eternal Spouse. So Echu allowed that, if heaven were given to him for her, and he himself were not compelled to be baptized. Patrick promised those two things, although it was difficult for him [to do so]. Then the king allowed his daughter Cinnu to be united to Christ, and Patrick caused her to be a female disciple of his, and delivered her to a certain virgin to be taught, namely [to] Cechtumbar[1] of Druimm Dubain, in which place both virgins have their rest.

Now, after many years the aforesaid Echu reached the end of his life; and when his friends were standing around him, he spake: "Bury me not," he saith, "until Patrick shall have come." And when Echu had finished these words he sent forth his spirit. Patrick, however, was then at Saball Pátraic in Ulster, and Echu's death was made manifest to him; and he decided on journeying to Clochar Macc nDoimni. There he found Echu [who had been] lifeless for twenty-four hours. When Patrick entered the house in which the body was lying, he put forth the folk who were biding around the corpse.[2] He bent [his] knees to the Lord, and shed tears, and prayed, and afterwards said with a clear voice: "O king Echu, in the name of Almighty God, arise!" And straightway the king arose at the voice of God's servant. So when he had sat down steadily he spake; and the weeping and wailing of the people were turned into joy. And then holy Patrick instructed the king in the method of the faith, and baptized him. And Patrick ordered him, before the people, to set forth the punishments of the ungodly and the blessedness of the saints, and that he

[1] *Cetamariæ*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 150.

[2] Compare Math. ix., 25; Mark v., 40; Luke viii., 54; Acts ix., 40.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 21, a. 2.

c*ra*ibdech *ocus* do[f]indfuth nanoeb, et praedicaret plebi, ut crederent uera esse quae de penis infernorum praedicantur et de gaudís beatorum qui obaudierunt. Ut ei praeceptum est de utroque praedicauit. *Ocus* tarcaid Pa*tra*ic roga [1] dó .i. xu. blia*dna* inardrigu athiri dia nairb*er*eth bith cuc*raib*dech *ocus* cufíren, no diamad ferr leis dul doc*um* nime. At rex consequenter ait: "Cia dob*er*tha [damsa [2]] ríge [3] inna huli cuarta, *ocus* cia atb*er*aind [4] bith o ilbl*iadn*aib, adrimfinn arnempni i*con*diulcc inmaithi*u*ssa tarfas dam. Isairi togaimsi [5] inmo *ocus* inmo curomsaerthar ótrogib inbetha frecnaircc [21. b. 1] *ocus* corothadcuirer cossnafailti suthaine tarfása dam." Cui inquit Patricius: "Váde cum pace et ad Deum emigra." Rogníí Echu atlaigthi buide do Dia i [6] frecnarc*us* amuint*er*i, *ocus* roaithne aanmain donChoimd*id* *ocus* doPat*raic*, *ocus* rofáithe [7] asp*ir*ut docum nime.|

ISed dochoid Pa*tra*ic iarsin hic*ri*ch Ua Meith Tíri do Tig Thalan, *ocus* fo*r*ácaib epsc*op* Cilline and *ocus* æs sruith diamuint*ir* olcena *ocus* mart*ra* sruithe tuc less tarmuir anair.

Is annsin tallsat Ui Torrorrc, do Óib Meith Tíri antanriud,[8] indala bocc nobíth octab*airt* usci doPa*traic*, *ocus* dodechat*ar* dia luga [9] inetheuch doPat*raic*, coromeglestar inboc abrondaib int*rir* d*us*fell. "Mo debród," olPat*raic*, "fo*r*dindet inboc feisin dú indæs. Ondíu cobráth," olPa*traic*, "lilit gabair bhar cla[i]n*d* *ocus* bar cen*é*l." Quod impletur adhuc.

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[1] rogu, E.
[2] Sic, E.
[3] rigu, R.; rigi, E.
[4] arb*er*ainn, E.
[5] dogoimsi, E.
[6] Sic, E.; a, R.
[7] rofoithi, E.
[8] intainriud, E.
[9] lugu, E.

should preach to the commonalty that all things which are made known to them of the pains of hell and of the joys of the blessed who have obeyed were true. As had been ordered to him, Echu preached of both things. And Patrick gave him his choice, to wit, fifteen years in the sovranty of his country if he would live quietly and justly, or, going (forthwith) to heaven, if this seemed better to him. But the king at once said: "Though the kingship of the whole globe should be given to me, and though I should live for many years, I should count it as nothing in comparison to the blessedness that hath been shown to me. Wherefore I choose more and more that I may be saved from the sorrows of the present world, and that I may return to the everlasting joys which have been shown to me." Patrick saith to him, "Go in peace and depart unto God." Echu gave thanks to God in the presence of his household, and he commended his soul to the Lord and to Patrick, and sent forth his spirit to heaven.

Thereafter Patrick went to the district of Húi-Meith Tíre,[1] to Tech Talan. He left Bishop Cillíne there, and aged folk of his household besides, and relics of ancients which he had brought with him over sea from the east.

Then the Hui Torrorrae, of the Húi Meith Tíre especially, stole [and ate] one of the two goats that used to be carrying water for Patrick, and they went to perjure themselves to Patrick; but the goat bleated out of the bellies of the three who had deceived him. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "the goat himself announces the place in which he was eaten. From to-day for ever," saith Patrick, "goats shall cleave to your children and your race." Which thing is still fulfilled.[2]

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[1] quae est Orientalis Vltoniæ regiuncula, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* 150.

[2] According to Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 150), the descendants of these thieves had always beards "caprinis subsimiles."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 21, b. 1.

Eugan m*acc* Briuin, m*aicc* Muiredaig, m*aicc* Imch*atha*, m*aicc* Collai dacrich,[1] ishé ropa rí Óe Meith quando crediderunt illa[e] gentes, et benedixit eis. Rogaid Eog*an* indí Pa*traic* imthod*úscud* aṡenath*ar* .i. Muiredaig. Dorodiusaig Pa*traic* iarsuidiu *ocus* rombaithes, *ocus* ronadn*acht* af*r*ithisi ocOmne Rende hi coc*r*ich Mugdornd *ocus* UaMeith, *acht* islaMugdornd[u] inloc sin.

ISed docuaid Pat*raic* icrich Mugdornd do Domnach Maigen intainriud. INtan rocuala Victor robái [21 b. 2] isindluc sin Pa*traic* dotichtain[2] adóc[h]*um* tanic Victor doimgab*ail* Pa*traic* asinp*ur*t corrabai imuiniu draigin bai hitæb inbaili. Doronai Dia [firt] arPa*traic*, roṡoillsig inmuine isindaidchi dorchai curbu reill and. Dodech*aid* Victor iarsin coPa*traic* *ocus* dobert areir. *Ocus* dorat Pat*raic* incill dó,[3] *ocus* dorat g*ra*d nepscuip fair (in marg. .i. for Victor), *ocus* for*á*caibh inDomnach Maigen. *Ocus* robaithes Pa*traic* Mugdorndu, *ocus* asbe*r*t ordnidi læch *ocus* cle*r*iuch díb, *ocus* rocelebr*as*t*ar* díib, *ocus* fo*ra*caib bennachtain leu.

ISed docóid Pat*raic* iarsin coFiru Rois do Enach[4] *Con*glais. Rofiu Patraic ann fodomnach. Isand tucsat*ar* Úi Lilaig neim[5] doPat*raic* isna fasc*r*ib grotha. Roṡén Pa*traic* iarsin inna fasc*r*iu *con*dergeni clocha dibh.[6]

INtan dochóid Pat*raic* iarsin forsind áth dia lúain tairis fades, dochot*ar* Ui Lilaig cóicait marcach *for*sindáth inadiaid diamarbhadh. Tintái Pa*traic* f*r*iu fo*r*sincnuchai f*r*isinnáth andes, *ocus* tuargaib alaim clí, [et[7]] dixit: "sech ni tergaid asinnath illei *ocus* ni regaid anund. Bethe[8] isind*usque*sin cobrath." Dodc-

[1] focrich, E.
[2] do thiachtain, E.
[3] dau, E.
[4] enuch, E.
[5] anncim, E.
[6] roṡen inna fascra condereni clocha díib, E.
[7] Sic E.
[8] innúnd. beithi, E.

Eugan son of Briun, son of Muiredach, son of Immchath, son of Colla-dá-chrích, it was he who was king of the Húi Meith when those people believed and Patrick blessed them. Eugan entreated Patrick to raise to life his grandfather, namely Muiredach. Patrick raised him to life after this, and he baptized him, and buried him again at Omne Rende, on the border of Mugdoirn and Húi Meith; but that place belongs to Mugdoirn.

Patrick went into the province of Mugdoirn, to Domnach Maigen. When Victor,[1] who dwelt in that place, heard that Patrick had gone thither, Victor came, to avoid Patrick, out of the place till he was in a thorn-brake that lay beside the stead. God [then] wrought a miracle for Patrick. He lighted up the brake in the dark night so that [all] was clear therein. Thereafter Victor went to Patrick and submitted to him. And Patrick gave the church to him, and bestowed the order of a bishop upon him, that is, on Victor, and he left him in Domnach Maigen. And Patrick baptized the men of Mugdoirn, and said that distinguished laymen and clerics would be of them. And he bade them farewell and left a blessing with them.

Thereafter Patrick went to Fir Roiss, to Enach Conglais. Patrick rested there throughout a Sunday. There the Húi Lilaig gave poison to Patrick in the cheeses of curd. Patrick thereafter blessed the cheeses and made stones of them.

When Patrick went thereafter on Monday over the ford southward the Húi Lilaig[2] went with fifty horsemen by the ford after him to slay him. On the hillock to the south of the ford, Patrick turned towards them, and he raised his left hand and said: "Ye shall not come out of the ford on this side and ye shall not go out of it on that side. Ye shall be in that water till Doom."

[1] loci illius possessor, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

[2] tanto miraculo nihil commoti, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 21, b. 2.

ch*aid* int*us*q*ue* tairsiu fochetóir. Áth Ua Lilaig aainm indátha cob*r*ath, *ocus* itat[1] ind[ḟ]asc*ri* clochai oc Enuch[2] *Con*glais hif*or*aithmet indḟerta cosind laithi si indiu.[3]

Luid iarsin cuRáith Chúli, curo be*n*nach Firu Cúli .i. Uu Segain, dicens:

Be*nnacht* fo*r* Ḟiru[4] Cúli:
fó lem cía della meithe,[5]
fo*r* Firu Ross cen derba
otha Lerga[6] cuLéire.

[22 a. 1] Luid iarsin co[7] Biliu Thortan; et fecit eclesiam Iustiano prespetero iuxta Bili Tortan, quae est apud familiam Airdd Brecain.

Oc tascnam doPatr*aic* hic*r*ich Laige*n* óDom*nach* Tortan, fíu aidchi ic D*r*uim Urchailli.

Luid Pa*traic* iarsuidiu doNáss. Atá lat*hr*ach apupaill isindḟaigthi[8] indúne f*r*isligid anair, *ocus* ata atip*ra* f*r*idun antuaith, dú robaithis dam*a*cc Dunlangi Ai*li*ll *ocus* Illand, *ocus* dú robaithes dí ingin Ai*le*lla Mogain *ocus* Fedelm; *ocus* rosnedhbair anathair doDía *ocus* doPa*traic* oógi cosecartha. *Ocus* rosen cailli f*or*acen*n*.

Docuas óPa*traic* dogairm rechtairi dune Nais[9] .i. Faillen. Roimgaib Pat*raic ocus* rodolb cotl*ud* dodenam. Ticht cu Pat*raic* do erchoitmed f*r*is, *ocus* atrubrad bái inrechtairi innacotl*ud*. "Modebrod," olPat*raic*, "ní

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[1] ataatt, E.
[2] Oenuch, E.
[3] adḟerto cosinlaithiusa indiu, E.
[4] firu, E.
[5] fo lemm cusatella méithe, E.
[6] lerca, E.
[7] do, E.
[8] faithgi, E.
[9] Náiss, E.

The water went over them at once. Áth-Húa-Lilaig ('the ford of Lilach's descendants') is the name of the ford for ever, and in commemoration of the miracle the cheeses of stone are at Enach Conglais to this very day.[1]

Thereafter he went to Rath Cúle, and blessed Fir Cúle, that is, Húi Segain, saying:

"A blessing on Fir Cúle.
I am pleased though . . .
On Fir Ross without . .
From Lerga to Léire."

He went thereafter to Bile Tortain ('Tortan's Tree'); and near to Bile Tortain he built for Justian the presbyter a church,[2] which [now] belongs to the community of Ard Brecáin.

When Patrick was journeying into the territory of Leinster from Domnach Tortain, he slept a night in Druim Urchailli.[3]

Thereafter Patrick went to Naas. The site of his tent is in the green of the fort, to the east of the road, and to the north of the fort is his well wherein he baptized Dunling's two sons (namely) Ailill and Illann, and wherein he baptized Ailill's two daughters, Mogain and Fedelm; and their father offered to God and to Patrick their[4] consecrated virginity. And Patrick blessed the veil on their heads.

Patrick sent to summon the reeve of the fort of Naas, to wit, Faillén. He shunned Patrick, and feigned to be sleeping. They went to Patrick to make excuse to him, and they said that the reeve was asleep. "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it is not strange to me if this be[5] [his] last sleep."

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[1] Lit. to this day to-day.

[2] quae et *Domnach-Tortan* postea dicta est, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

[3] Venit in terram Laogaire: ibique metatus est locum extruendæ Ecclesiæ *Domnach-Vrchaile* postea vocatæ, *ibid.*

[4] For *oógi* I read *anógi*: compare infra, p. 224, line 10.

[5] *i.e.*, as Mr. Hennessy translates, "I should not be surprised if it were."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 22, a. 1.

hingnad lem cid tiugcotl*ud*." Docuat*ar* amuint*er* dia d*ús*cud cof*r*ith marbh hé arin anumaloit dorig*ni* do-Pat*raic* ; *con*id dihin isár*usc*[1] laGaidelu, 'cotl*ud* Faillen an[2]dún Náiss.'

Dricriu isé bári Ua nGairch*on*[3] arcind Pat*raic* intansin, *ocus* ingen Loeg*uir*i m*aicc* Nell leis domnai, corodiultai *fri*Pat*raic* immafleith icRaith Inb*ir* arLæg*uir*i. Dorat im*morro* Cilline failti dó, *ocus* romarb a ænboin dó,[4] *ocus* dorat doPa*traic* innairmid mini tuc dia fulang atoig[5] ind*rig*. ISandsin roraidi Pa*traic* *fri*sin mnai fune *ocus* sí oc tergorad[6] amaic:

Aben, talaig dom*acc*an.
dotáit torc mór diorcan :
diaibill tic breo :
bid beo, bid slán dom*a*ccan.

INarbar
isdech dolosaib[7] talm*an*.
isMarcan m*acc* Cilline,
b*as* dech doÚibh Garrc*on*.

[22 a. 2.] Luid iar sin[8] iMagh Liphi. Rofoth*aig* cella *ocus* congba*la* hisuidiu, *ocus* for*á*caib Úsaili icill Úsaili *ocus* Iserninum *ocus* M*acc* Tail hiCella Culind, et ali[i] sancti.

Ocdul doPat*raic* indíarthar Lifi, doronsat m*aicc* Láigsi cuithecha us*ci* fo*r*sind sét fo*r*achind *ocus* brathlang tairsiu. "ArDia," olinm*aicc* becca, "tochomluid[9] far nechu." "Comluid da*no*," olPa*traic*, "arDia for-

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[1] dihén asarasc, E.
[2] in, E.
[3] húa nGarrchon, E.
[4] óenboin dóu, E.
[5] fulung a taig, E.
[6] tergorud, E.
[7] anarbór asdech dilossaib, E.
[8] iarsuidiu, E.
[9] dochumluid, E.

Then his people went to awake him, and he was found dead, because of the disrespect which he showed to Patrick. Wherefore the Irish have a proverb, *Faillén's sleep in the Fort of Naas.*[1]

Dricriu, he was king of Húi Garrchon when Patrick arrived at that time; and a daughter of Loeguire son of Níall he had to wife, and for Loeguire's sake he refused to invite Patrick to his feast at Rath Inbir. Howbeit Cillíne[2] gave him a welcome, and killed his one cow for him, and gave Patrick the measure of meal which he had brought for his support out of the house of the king. Then said Patrick to the cooking-woman, while she was warming her (and Cillíne's) son:

O Woman, cherish thy little son!
A great boar comes from a pigling:
From a spark comes a flame:
Thy child will be quick, will be sound.

The corn
Is best of earth's plants,
It is Marcán son of Cillíne
Who is best of Garrchu's descendants.

Thereafter he went into Mag Liphi; he founded churches and cloisters therein, and he left Auxilius in Cell Úsaili and Iserninus and MaccTail in Cella Culind, and other saints.

As Patrick was going into western Liphe the boys of Láiges made on the way before him pits of water with a gin[3] over them. "For God's sake," say the little boys, "drive on your horses." "Drive on, then, your horses," says Patrick [to his charioteer] "for God's sake."

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[1] quando alicui volunt imprecari somnum noxium, dicunt; *dormiat, vt Faillenus in arce Naziensi*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 151.

[2] a man 'tenuioris conditionis,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 152.

[3] quas [scil. foveas] inducto desuper recenti cespite palliarunt, vt sic eos dolo interimerent, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 22, a. 2.

nechu;" *acht* niderna olc doib. *Ocus* dobe*r*t mallach*t*ain fo*r*Laigis .i. fo*r*Láigis meic Find dú itá Moin Col*uimb* indíu. *Ocus* asbe*r*t Pa*traic* nabiath rí na epsc*op* úadib, *ocus* isflaith ect*rand*[1] bias fo*r*ru cubráth. Úuid im*morro* Brig ingen Fergnai m*aicc* Cobth*aig* de Lib Eircan conéicid doPatr*aic* indancr*ide*[2] bái arachinn. Dobe*r*t Pa*traic* benn*acht*ain fuirri *ocus* foraath*air* *ocus* fo*r*abraith*riu* *ocus* fo*r*[Ú]u Ercán huili, *ocus* asbe*r*t Pat*raic* nat beitis [cen[3]] oirdnide læch *ocus* clé*r*ech díib cobrath.

Isand tarblaing Pa*traic* isindtaili*g* diambu ainm intansin Bili m*acc* Crúaich: indiu im*morro* is Forrach Pa*traic* ainmnigt*her*. *Ocus* asbe*r*t da*no* Patraic nadmbíad rí narechtairi echt*rand* fo*r*ru cubráth. Ag fudáilfidi la ríg Laig*en* inarígthoig indala loracc donríg, alaili do ríg Óa nErcán. Airmed Pat*raic* leo. Fo*r*rach Pat*raic* leo. Ordan loech *ocus* clé*r*ech leu. Ane *ocus* suthaine dóib. Ocht flaithi leo cofl*aith* Co*n*chob*air* m*aicc* Donnch*ad*a hiTemraigh. O aimsi*r* Pa*traic* ambre*th*emn*as* leo in[n]ac*r*ich. [22 b. 1] Láichess im*morro*, cenel.inna m*acc* dorigensat anolc. Nico*n*bía rí na epsc*op* huadaib cubráth: flaith echtrann nud*us*foilnaibed: no*co*nainfe ingreimm *ocus* acre díibh cubráth.

Doluid Pa*traic* oTemr*aig* corancata*r* *ocus* Dubthach m*acc* úu Lugair[4] oc Domnach Mor Maigi Criathar la Úu Ceinselaig, qui credidit Patricio. Áiliss Pa*traic* fair óclái g[5] nálaind bed soescuir,[6] "toisclim[7] fer óensetche, denarucha[8] acht oenm*acc*." "Ni[9] segtha[9] damsa[9] em," olDub*thach*, "Fiac m*acc* Erce, ishé[10] lim fer inna

[1] echtrann, E.
[2] anancride, E.
[3] Sic E.
[4] macuLugair, E.
[5] óclach, E.
[6] nabad oscair, E.
[7] E. omits.
[8] donarucat, E.
[9] E. omits.
[10] hecal, E.

But he did no evil to them. And he inflicted a curse upon Láiges, namely on Láiges of the son of Finn, in the place in which Moin Coluimb ('Columb's bog') is to-day. And Patrick said that of them there would neither be king nor bishop, and it is a foreign prince that will be over them for ever. Howbeit, Brig, daughter of Fergna son of Cobthach, of the Húi Ercáin, had gone and declared to Patrick the wrong that was intended for him. Patrick bestowed a blessing upon her and upon her father and her brothers and upon all the Húi Ercáin. And Patrick said that they would never lack distinguished laymen and clerics.

Then Patrick alighted on the hill which was then named Bile Macc Crúaich ('the tree of Crúach's Sons'): to-day, however, it is called Forrach Pátraic ('Patrick's meeting-place.') And Patrick then said that over them there never would be a king or a foreign reeve. Should a cow be divided by the king of Leinster in his palace, one of the two forks[1] goes to the king, the other to the king of Húi Ercáin. Patrick's meeting-place they have; Patrick's measure they have; dignity of laymen and clerics they have; wealth and lastingness are unto them. Eight princes they had till the reign of Conchobar son of Donchad in Tara. Láiges, however, was the tribe of the boys who did the evils. Of them there will never be king or bishop: a foreign prince should rule them: persecution and complaint shall never cease from them.

Patrick went from Tara, and he and Dubthach Maccu-Lugair met at Domnach Mór Maige Criathar in Húi Ceinselaich. Dubthach believed in Patrick. Patrick asked him for a comely youth who should be well-born: "I desire a man with one wife,[2] unto whom hath been born only one child." "Verily," saith Dubthach, "this

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[1] *i.e.*, two of the four quarters? quarta pars, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 152.

[2] *See* 1 Tim. iii. 2.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 22, b. 1.

innisin[1] sin, docóid huaimsi hi tírib[2] *Connacht* combairdni donaib rígaibh." His uerbis aduenit ille. Trécheil Dubthaig arb*er*tar ab*err*ad dochlérchiu*cht*.[3] "Cid airmmb*er*tar lib," olFíac. "Dub*thach* dobachaill," olseat.[4] "Bith ainim ón ém do sochaidi," olFiac: "ba a brain[5] nachamgaibt*her*sea taracenn." "Nutgeb*thar* em," ol Pat*raic*. Berrthir,[6] baitsithir, sc*ri*bthir abgitir dó. Légaid aśalmu anóenló,[7] ut mihi traditum est. Ordinatur gradu episcopali, *ocus* dob*er*ar epsco*p*oti Laigen dó oPat*raic*, *ocus* oirddnidir da*no* aoenm*a*cc Fiachri.

IShe iar*um* Fiac epsc*op* cítaraoirdned[8] laLaigniu. Dob*ert* da*no* Pat*raic* cumdach[9] doFiac .i. clocc, meinistir, bachall, pólairi, *ocus* fácaib morfeiser[10] diamúntir leis .i. Moch[22 b. 2]atóc insi [Fáil], Aug*us*tin insi Bice, Tecán *ocus* Diarmait *ocus* Naindid *ocus* Pol *ocus* Fedelmid.

*Con*gab iarsuidiu inDomnach Féic, *ocus* bái and *con*torcr*a*tar t*r*í fichit fer leiss diamuint*ir*. Annsin dolluid intangel cuice et dixit f*ri*s: "Is f*ri*abainn aníar ata du esergi hiCuil Maigi. Airm hifuirsitis intorc arm[b]ad ann foruimsitis[11] ap*r*aintech: port hifuirsitis inelit armbed and da*no* foruimtis indecl*ais*.[12] Dixit Fiac f*ri*sindangel nádregad cotisad Pa*traic* do-

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[1] innisen, E.

[2] tir, E.

[3] E. omits this sentence.

[4] olPatraic, E.

[5] cid, E.

[6] .i. Fiacc, E.

[7] in Fiacc sin epscop citaroirned, E.

[8] inóenlou, E.

[9] cumtach, E.

[10] foráccaib morśeisser, E.

[11] forruimtis, E.

[12] an ecclais, E.

is not fortunate for me. Fíacc son of Erc, he, I think, is a man of that description; [but] he is gone from me into the lands of the Connaught-men with bardism for the kings." At these words Fíacc arrived. Through Dubthach's cleverness it is proposed to tonsure him for the clerical order. "What is proposed by you?" saith Fíacc. "To make a bishop of Dubthach,"[1] say they. "Verily this will be a blemish to the commonwealth," saith Fíacc: "it is a grief that I am not taken in his place." "Truly thou wilt be taken," saith Patrick. He is tonsured; he is baptized; an alphabet is written for him. He reads his psalms in one day, as hath been handed down to me. He is ordained in the episcopal rank, and the bishopric of Leinster is given to him by Patrick; and moreover his only son Fiachrae is ordained.

So Patrick gives a case to Fíacc [containing] to wit, a bell, a credence-table, a crozier, [and] tablets[2]; and he left seven of his household with him, to wit, My-Catóc of Inis Fáil, Augustín of Inis-becc, Tecán, and Diarmait and Naindid and Paul and Fedelmid.

He set up after this at Domnach Féicc ('Fíacc's Church') and he dwelt there till threescore men of his community had fallen beside him. Then came the angel to him and said to him "To the west of the river[3] in Cúil-maige is thy resurrection." The place in which they should find the boar, it should be there that they should set the refectory. The place in which they should find the doe, that it should be there that they should set the church. Fíacc said to the angel that he would not go till Patrick should come to mark out his stead with him and to con-

[1] Lit. 'Dubthach for the crozier' (baculus).

[2] cymbalum nempe ministeriale, Epistolas Paulinas, et baculum pastoralem, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 155. But *meinistir* is = *ministerium* (credence-table) and *pólaire* is either = *pugillaris*, one of the names of the tube through which the sacramental wine was imbibed, or (as I think) *pugillares* 'writing-tablets.'

[3] the Barrow, according to Mr. Hennessy.

Rawl. B. 512, fo 27, b. 2.

thorainn[1] aluic leiss *ocus* diacoisec*r*ad, *ocus* combed uad nogab*ad*[2] alocc. Doluid da*no* Pa*traic* coFiacc *ocus* dororain*n* aloc leis, *ocus* fo*r*raim afo*r*rich; *ocus* adopart Cremthan inportsin doPa*traic*, arbaPa*traic* nodbaithis, *ocus* hiSléibti [atá].[3] ISann iarsin oirddnidi Fíacc.

Bat*ar* intansin foingreim lárig Laigen Cremthan m*acc* Censelaig, collot*ar* fo*r*longais. Isdíib inManaig laÚu Cremthain *ocus* inManaig laUltu *ocus* Cenel ndEndai[3] laMumain. Isdíib inFiacc reimerbartammar.[5] Quinque fratres: Fiacc, Oeng*us*, Ai*l*ill Mar, Co*n*all, Etarscela. Pater eorum m*acc* Ercæ. Tre imthuus Pa*traic* rongab inríí fo*r*ferand, cóiced imbaire aathar. Isfair *con*acab Sleibti.

INTOeng*us* hisin roort inrig iartain Cremtan m*acc* Censelaig dodigail aloingsi.[6] Hishitrichtaib *ocus* cethrachtaib ataat innacella dorat doPa*traic* inairther[7] Laigen *ocus* laÚu Cense*laig* imDomnach Mór Maigi C*ri*athair *ocus* im Insi Fáil hita Mochonoc *ocus* Moch- [23. a. 1.] -atóc. Erdit *ocus* Ag*ustin* hisindinsi aslaigiu, *ocus* iarnagabail dogentib hiSlebtiu ascrína atáat.

Domnach Mór Maigi Réta, bái Pa*traic* and fo domnach. Both oc claidi Ratha Baccain isindomnach sin, rígdún innatuathe. Dochúas oPa*traic* díaergaire. Nocha dernad ní airi. Roráidi Pa*traic* bid terbrutech acumtach mani oifrider and cechlai. Roraide Pa*traic*

[1] dothóraind, E.
[2] nóngabad, E.
[3] Sic E.
[4] nEndai, E.; *Kinell-Enna*, Colgan.
[5] remierbartmar, E.
[6] Sic E.; a áloingsi, R.
[7] airthiur, E.

secrate it, and that it should be from him that he (Fíacc) should receive his stead. So Patrick went to Fíacc and marked out his stead with him, and fixed his meeting-place; and Cremthann offered that spot to Patrick, for it was Patrick that had baptized him, and in Slebte he is [buried]. It is there that Fíacc was afterwards ordained.

They [the Húi Ercáin] were at that time suffering persecution from the king of Leinster, Cremthann son of Censelach, wherefore they went into exile. Of them are the Manachs ('monks') in Húi Cremthainn and the Manachs in Ulster, and the Cenél Endai in Munster. Of them is the Fíacc whom we have before mentioned. Fíacc, Oengus, Ailill the Great, Conall and Eterscela were five brothers. Their father was MaccErcae. Through Patrick's intervention, the king received him (Fíacc) on land,[1] his father's fifth ridge. Thereon he built Sleibte.

That Oengus afterwards slew the king Cremthann son of Censelach, to avenge his exile. In thirties and forties are the churches which he (Cremthann) gave to Patrick in the east of Leinster and in Húi-Censelaig, including Domnach Mór Maige Criathair and including Inis Fail wherein are My-Conóc and My-Catóc. Erdit and Agustín are in the lesser island, and since it was taken by the pagans[2] their shrines are in Sleibte.

Domnach Mór Maige Reta ('the great church of Mag Réta'), Patrick abode there throughout a Sunday. And on that Sunday they were digging [the foundation of] Rath Baccain, the royal stronghold of the district. Patrick sent to forbid this. Nothing was done for him. Patrick said: "The building will be unstable, unless

[1] This probably means (as Mr. Hennessy translates) 'granted him land': concessit S. Fieco non solùm aedificandae Ecclesiae, sed et portionem eum conti[n]gentem, siue quintam partem de paternis praediis, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 155.

[2] *i.e.*, A.D. 819.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23, a. 1.

nataittrebtha[1] indún cotísad ingæth aichtur If*ir*n. Isé Gaithini son m*acc* Cinæda: iseiside roadcumtaich[2] indún hiflaith Feidilmid *ocus* *Con*chubair hiTemr*aig*.

IArsindi *tra* f*or*othaigest*ar* Pa*traic* cella *ocus* *cong*-b*ala* ilLaigniu. Fo*r*ácaib be*nnacht*ain la Óuib[3] Censel*aig* *ocus* la[4] Laigniu huli. *Ocus* íarsandí[5] roorddnestar Fiacc Finn hiSlebti, indeps*copó*ti[6] inchoic*id*.

Luid iarsuidiu f*or*Belach Gabran hitír nOsraigi, *ocus* forothl*aig* cella *ocus* *con*gb*ala* and, *ocus* at*rubairt* nobeitís orddnidiu[7] læch *ocus* cl*ér*iuch díib, *ocus* ni bíad furail nách coicid f*or*ru céin nobeitis doreir Pa*traic*. Ceilebrais Pa*traic* dóib iarsuidiu, *ocus* f*or*ácaib mart*rai* sruithi occu *ocus* f*oir*enn dia munnt*ir* dú hitá Martartech indíu imMaig Roigne.

Druimm *Con*chind hiMaircc, memaid domuin carpait Pa*traic* ocdul cumMumain.[8] Dogníth do[9] fiuth indromma. Memaid focetóir. Dogníth da*no* dorithisi Mema*id* da*no*. Roráidi Pa*traic* nat mbiad aicdi[10] dognethi di fiuth[11] nacaillisin cobráth. Quod impletur. Cid delcc ni derntar[12] de. Ataa ann Dis*ert* P*atraic*, *acht* isfás.

[23 a. 2] Luid Pa*traic* iarsuidiu hicr*ích* M*uma*n doChaisiul narígh. INtan asráracht Oeng*us* macc Natfr*á*ig isinmatain bát*ar* innarrachta huili innaligib, *ocus* faurá*n*ic[13] Pa*traic* *con*am*úntir* hi toeb indúne. Rofer fáilte fr*íu*, *ocus* nus*beir* leiss isindún comaigin hitá

[1] nad aittrebatha, E.
[2] roathchumtaig, E.
[3] for huib, E.
[4] huiliu 7 iarsinni, E.
[5] hiSleibtiu inepscop, E.
[6] nOssairgi, E.
[7] oirdnide, E.
[8] do Mumain, E.
[9] di, E.
[10] nadmbiad aicde, E.
[11] difid, E.
[12] delg nidertar, E.
[13] faránaicc, E.

offering is made there[1] every day." Patrick declared that the stronghold would not be inhabited until the wind (*gáeth*) should have come out of the lower part of Hell. This was Gáethíne ('little wind') son of Cinaed. He it is that rebuilt the stronghold in the reign of Fedilmed[2] and of Conchobar in Tara.

After this, then, Patrick founded churches and cloisters in Leinster. He left a blessing with Húi-Censelaig and with all Leinster, and after this he ordained Fíacc the Fair in Slebte, into the bishopric of the province.

He then went by Belach-Gabrain into the land of the Osraige and founded churches and cloisters there. And he said that of them there would be most distinguished laymen and clerics, and that no province should prevail over them so long as they should be obedient to Patrick. After this Patrick bade them farewell, and he left with them relics of ancient men, and a party of his household in the place where Martarthech ('relic-house') stands to-day in Mag-Raigne.

At Druimm Conchinn in Mairg the *domuin*[3] of Patrick's chariot broke as he was going to Munster. [Another] was made of the wood of the ridge. This broke at once. Again, [one] was made. It, too, broke. Patrick declared that never would any building be made of the wood of that grove. Which thing is fulfilled. Even a skewer is not made of it. Patrick's hermitage stands there; but it is waste.

After this Patrick went into the province of Munster to Cashel of the Kings. When Oengus, son of Natfraich, arose in the morning, all the idols were on their faces.[4] And Patrick with his household found him beside the

[1] *i.e.*, mass is celebrated.
[2] Ob. A.D. 847.
[3] "cross-beam," Mr. Hennessy.
[4] lit. in their beds; 'in facie prostrata simul in terram corruere,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 155. Compare the story of Dagon, 1 Samuel v. 3, 4.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23, a. 2.

i)c Pa*tr*a*ic* indíu. *Ocus* robathis íarsuidiu m*a*ccu Natfráich *ocus* firu Muman olchenai. *Ocus* fo*r*ácaib ben*n*a*cht*ain *ocus* sobarthain fo*rr*u, *ocus* robe*n*nach[1] indún .i. Caisel, *ocus* asbert nad mbíad *acht* oenguine and cubráth. *Ocus* robái *secht* mblia*dna* la Mumain. ISs*ed* dorimet indeol*aig* dorónai oifrend fo*r* cech sechtmad imbairi[2] doneoch imrulaid imMumain.

ANbái[3] Pa*traic* ocbaits*ed* Oeng*u*ssa, luid ermited[4] na bachlai trénat*hra*igid Oeng*u*ssa. Asb*er*t Pa*traic*, "Cid rombá naderbairt[5] fr*i*mm?" "Is*ed* andalem[6] rombasí córus nac*r*eitme," olsé. "Rotbía alóog," olPa*traic*, "nirega do comarba (.i. sil Oeng*u*sso *ocus* Ai*l*ella m*aicc* Natfr*aich*) oid*ed*[7] ngonai óndíu cobráth" .i. ní rí Caisil curonorddnea comarba Pa*traic*, *ocus* cutarda gr*á*d fair. Patricius dixit:

"M*ac*cni Nat-f*r*oich, fuaim sonaid,
huadib ríg, huadib rurig.
Oeng*us* aíathaib Femen
ocus ab*r*ath*air* Ailill."

Ocus xxuii. ríg rofallnaiset[8] fobachaill hiCaisiul curé Cinn gécán[9] dosil Ai*l*ella *ocus* Oeng*u*ssa.

ISed dochóid Pa*traic* iarsin iM*ú*scraigi mBregoin *ocus* fo*r*othaig cella *ocus* congb*a*la and. Laa nann bái oc innlat alám indáth and co torchair fíacail asacinn isindáth. [23. b. 1] Luid Pat*r*a*ic* isindtailchai fr*i*sindáth antúaith, *ocus* dotiaghar uad dochuinchid indfíacla, *ocus* doratne focetóir indfiacail isindáth am*al*

[1] rosbendach, E.
[2] immbairiu, E.
[3] Amboi, E.
[4] ermted, E.
[5] naderbartais, E.
[6] indalem, E.
[7] oeded, E., *oiged*, R.
[8] rofollnaistar, E.
[9] Coindgécan, E.

fort. He gave them welcome and brings them into the fort to the place where Patrick's flagstone is to-day. And after this Patrick baptized Natfraich's sons, and left blessing and prosperity upon them; and blessed the fort, namely Cashel, and said that till Doom only one slaughter should take place there. And he abode seven years in Munster. The learned count that he celebrated mass[1] on every seventh ridge which he traversed in Munster.

While Patrick was baptizing Oengus the spike of the crozier went through Oengus' foot. Said Patrick: "why didst thou not tell this to me?" "It seemed to me," saith he [Oengus], "that it was a rite of the faith." "Thou shalt have its reward," saith Patrick: "thy successor," that is, the seed of Oengus and Ailill son of Natfraech, "shall not die of a wound from to-day for ever." No one is King of Cashel until Patrick's successor installs him and confers ecclesiastical rank upon him. Patrick said:

" The sons of Natfraich, happy sound!
From them are kings, from them are sovrans.
Oengus out of the lands of Femen,
And his brother Ailill."

And twenty-seven kings of the race of Ailill and Oengus ruled in Cashel under a crozier[2] until the time of Cenn-gecán.[3]

Thereafter Patrick went into Muscraige-Breogain and founded churches and cloisters there. One day, as he was washing his hands in a ford there, a tooth fell out of his head into the ford. Patrick went on the hill to the north of the ford, and sends to seek the tooth, and straightway the tooth shone in the ford like a sun; and

[3] lit. made offering.

[1] This seems to mean that the twenty-seven kings were also ecclesiastics, 'in Monachos tonsi,' says Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 156.

[1] Slain A.D. 897.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23, b. 1.

grein; *ocus* Áath Fíacla aainm indátha *ocus*-Cell Fíacla aainm innacilli hífargaib Pa*traic* indfiac*ail* *ocus* .iiii. dia muntir .i. Cuirethi [1] *ocus* Loscán, Cailech *ocus* Beoán. Rocelebrai dóib *ocus* forácaib be*n*nach*t*ain leo.

Luid iarsin do [2] Aradu Cliach combái indOcht*ur* Cuillenn la Úu Cúanach. Rosis f*r*is [3] Ailill m*acc* Cathb*ad*, m*aicc* Lugdach diEog*an*icht airt[h]*ir* Cliach. Doluid aséitig isintelaig irrabatar. "Dootar mucca armacc, aOilill!" arsí, "*tr*ianainmide." Et dixit Ai*li*ll, "Creitfessa dia tódí*us*cai momacc dam." Roraidi Pa*traic* acnamai in m*aicc* dothinol, *ocus* fororco*n*gart f*or* céli nDé dia m*untir* .i. Malach B*rit*, [4] athódí*us*cud. "Ní diggen," olse, [5] "amm*us* [for]sinCoimded." [6] Amiris rodngab. Rorádi Pa*traic*: "Tróg sin, aMalaich! nibu [7] ardd do*congbail* hital*main*, bid tech nóenfir dotech." Atá a*chongbail* innuilinn airthir tuascertaig na Déisi deiscirt. Cell Malaich aainm. Diing .u. bai do bethug*ud* and cubráth. Fororco*n*gart Pat*raic* [iarsin [8]] forepsco*p* Ibair *ocus* forElbi todi*us*cud inm*aicc*, *ocus* rogaidsium inCoimdid leo. Dorothodiuscud inm*acc* iarsuidiu t*r*eurnaigthi [9] Pat*raic*.

Rop*r*ídach imm*orro* iar suidiu donaib slógaib *ocus* donaib sochaidib ifiadn*aissi* [10] Pat*raic*. Roc*r*eiti iarsuidiu Ailill [23 b. 2] *ocus* a séitig, *ocus* roc*r*eitset Úi Cúanach olchena, *ocus* robaitsidi isinmaigin sin, *ocus* atá asuidi achethrur isind lucsin inrotodí*uscad* inm*acc* .i. Pat*raic*

---

[1] Cuirethe, E.
[2] co, E.
[3] Rossís, E.
[4] britt, E.
[5] digen olsé, E.
[6] forsincoimdid, E.
[7] niba, E.
[8] Forórchongairt Patraic iarsin, E.
[9] tre airnaigthe, E.
[10] hifiadnaisin, E.

Áth-fiacla ('Ford of the Tooth') is the name of the ford, and Cell Fiacla ('Church of the Tooth') is the name of the church in which Patrick left the tooth and four of his household, namely, Cuircthe [1] and Loscán, Cailech and Beoán. He bade them (the Muscraige Breogain) farewell, and left a blessing with them.

After that he went to Arada-Cliach and abode in Óchtar-Cuillen in Húi Cuanach. Ailill son of Cathbad, son of Lugaid, of the Eoganacht of Airthir Cliach, withstood him. Ailill's wife went to the hill on which they were biding and said, "Swine have devoured our son, O Ailill!" saith she, "through their brutishness." And Ailill said [to Patrick]: "I will believe if thou bringest my son to life again for me." Patrick ordered the bones of the son to be gathered together and directed a Culdee of his household, namely, Malach the Briton, to bring him to life. "I will not tempt the Lord," saith Malach. Unfaith had seized him. Said Patrick: "Sad is that, O Malach! Thy cloister will not be lofty on earth. Thy house will be the house of one man." His cloister is in the north-eastern angle of the southern Deisi. Its name is Cell Malaich. Five cows can hardly be fed there for ever. Thereafter Patrick ordered bishop Ibair and Ailbe to bring the boy to life, and he besought the Lord along with them. The boy was then brought to life after this, through Patrick's prayer.

Howbeit he (the boy) preached after this to the hosts and to the multitudes in Patrick's presence. Ailill and his wife then believed, and the Húi Cuanach also believed and were baptized in that stead. And in that place in which the boy was brought to life is the seat of the (aforesaid) four persons, namely, Patrick, and Ailbe

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[1] Curcneus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 156.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23, b. 1.

ocus Ailbe *ocus* eps*cop* Ibair *ocus* inm*a*cc bec. Dixit Patricius[1]: "Per manus medici sanat Deus."

Gatis cethrur echu Pa*trai*c antuaith. Daloig Pa*traic*. Légais fer díb, Cainchomracc aainm. Sær alaile Osacóir alaile. Quartus vero echere dó, Æd aainm. Dorogart Pa*traic* anísin, *ocus* robe*n*nach alama, et dixit ei com[b]ad hé a ainm Lam-æd onláusin, *ocus* isúad atát Lamr*ai*ge.

IS annsin tarraid galar setig[2] nalachta Aililla combu comocraib bás di. Roiarfacht Pa*trai*c ced rombái. Respondit mulier: "lus at*con*narc isindeúr, *ocus* ní accai hital*main* aleitheit, *ocus* atbelsa, no atbela ingein fil imbroind, no atbelom diblínaib, *mane* tomliur inlussin." Roraidi Pa*trai*c f*r*ie: "Cinn*as* ind lossa?" "Amal luachair," ar inben. Be*n*nachais Pa*traic* indluach*air* combo folt-chep. D*us*romalt inben iarsuidiu *ocus* ba slán fóchétoir; et postmodum peperit filium, et benedixit Patricium. Et dicitur quod Patricius dixit: "Omnes femine quae[cum]que[3] de illo holere manducauerint sanæ erunt."

Folam*a*star fedlegud hitoeb Clare oc Raith Coirpri *ocus* Brocán, *ocus* nirelged dó. *Ocus* asbe*r*t Pa*trai*c cobrath nabíad ri na eps*cop* docceniul Colmain f*r*istudchaid[4] dó. Asbe*r*t Pat*rai*c ropad leiss iartain, *ocus* foráccaib fer día m*untir* [24. a. 1] and iarnaimsir móir .i. Cóemán Cell Ráth.

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[1] MSS. patri eius.
[2] seitgi, E.
[3] Sic E.
[4] frisdudchad, E.

and bishop Ibair and the little boy.[1] Patrick said (on that occasion): "God heals by the physician's hand."

Four persons stole Patrick's horses in the south. Patrick forgave them. One of them, named Cainchomrac, was a leech,[2] another was a wright, another was an attendant,[3] but the fourth, named Áed, was a groom of his. Patrick called him and blessed his hands, and told him that, from that day, his name should be Lám-áed ('Hand-Aed'); and it is from him that the Lámraige descend.

Then disease attacked Ailill's pregnant wife in such wise that death was near unto her. Patrick asked what had befallen her? The woman answered, "I beheld an herb in the air; and on earth I never saw its equal; and I shall die, or the child that is in my womb will die, or we shall both die, unless I eat that herb." Patrick said to her: "What is the semblance of the herb?" "Like rushes," said the woman. Patrick blessed the rushes, so that they became a leek. The woman ate it afterwards and was whole at once; and afterwards she brought forth a son and blessed Patrick. And it is said that Patrick declared that all women who shall eat of that herb will be whole.

He desired to remain beside Clar at the rath of Corbre and Broccán, and this was not permitted to him. And Patrick said that there never would be a king or a bishop of the race of Colmán who had resisted him. Patrick said that (the place) would belong to him afterwards, and after a long time he left a man of his household there, namely, Coemán of Cella Rath.

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[1] quatuor praegrandes lapides in praedictorum quatuor sanctorum . . . memoriam erecti, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 156.

[2] vir litteratus et doctus, *ibid.*

[3] Oeconomus, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 24, a. 1.

Adrochab*air*[1] da*no* *con*gbáil inG*ré*in laAradhau. F*ri*studchaid Dola[2] dó. Asb*er*t Pa*traic* nad mbiad *con*gb*áil* úad and no diambeith nibadlia andás dias no t*ri*ar .i. cid eisidi bíe dóir *ocus* docenél arcenai regait ass. Rocomallad anísin. Docodar[3] condafil inair*thiur* Cliach. Dál Mo Dala ainmnight*her* usque hodie.

Doluid cuci Nena. Dlomsidi dó. Ille dixit: "nipa ní[4] Nena." Ni *con*ragaib comarba dó and ósein, *acht* ataat indóiri láM*ús*craigi Mitini. Menraigi nominantur.

Oc tuidecht ass iar*um* doPa*traic* dolluid banchairi innaG*ré*ine doguba[5] tuidechta Pa*traic* uadib. Patricius benedixit eas, et dixit nachcland nobertís doechtarcen*é*laib beitís orddnidi.

Bai Pa*traic* la Aradu Cliach ocTediul no*men* telchai. Ambái iccelebr*ad* iarmiforid dam*ac* dia munt*ir*. Etha fo*r*asliucht. Inventi sunt dormientes[6] fomuiniu and. Atfes doPa*traic*: "hic erit resurrectio[7] eorum." Quod uerum est. Muin *ocus* Lomchu iCill Tidil laPat*raic*.

Luid iarsuidiu cu Ua Fidgenti, *con*dernai Loman[8] m*acc* maic Eirgg fleid doPa*traic* imMullach Cę f*ri*Carn Feradaig andess; *ocus* bái fer muintiri doPa*traic* oc denam[9] innafleidi lasind*rí*g .i. dechon Mantan. Tarraid cleir æsa cerdd[10] inni Pa*traic* dochuinch*id* bíid. Ní-

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[1] Adrochaibair, E.
[2] fristuidchaid Dolá, E.
[3] Dochótar, E.
[4] níc, E.
[5] gubu, E.
[6] domienteis, R.
[7] resurrextio, R.
[8] Lonán, E.
[9] denum, E.
[10] ceirdd, E.

Then he desired to reside in Grian in Arada (Cliach). Dola opposed him. Patrick said that there would not be a residence of Dola's there, or, if there should be, that its inhabitants would not be more than two or three; and even that these will be slaves and of lowly race, and the rest will emigrate. That was fulfilled. They went forth until they were in Airther Cliach. Dál-mo-Dola [1] they are named until this day.

Nena went to him. Patrick refused to receive him, and said: "Of Nena will be nothing." There is no successor of his there thenceforth, but his descendants are in bondage in Muscraighe Mitini. They are called Menraighe.

Now, as Patrick was going thence, the women of Grian came to bewail Patrick's departure from them. Patrick blessed them, and said that every child which they should bear to (men of) foreign tribes would be dignified.

Patrick was at Arada Cliach at Tedel, (the name of a hill.) When he was bidding farewell two boys of his household remained (?) behind. Men went after them, and they were found there sleeping under a brake. This was told to Patrick, [and he said:] "Here will be their resurrection," which thing is true. Muin and Lommchu [are buried] in Cell-Tidil, which belongs to Patrick.

After this he went to Húi Fidgente, and Lommán,[2] son of Macc Eirc, made a feast for Patrick in Mullach-Cae,[3] to the south of Carn-Feradaig; and a man of Patrick's household, namely deacon Mantán, was preparing the feast at the king's. A train of jugglers [4] came to Patrick

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[1] .i. stirps Dolae, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 157.

[2] Lonanus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p.157.

[3] vertice montis *Kea, ibid.*

[4] Quidam ex Druidibus, Magis, et aliis joculatoribus terrae illius, *ibid.* They are called *druthaib* lower down.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 24, a. 1.

damthatar[1] erchoimded. "Ergid," olPa*traic*, "coLonán *ocus* codechon Mantan immomchobair." Qui dixerunt: "Non praecones benedicent [24 a. 2] nobis principium cenæ[2] nostræ." Tunc dixit Patricius:

"INmaccán dotæt antuaith
is dó roernad anbuaid
dochum Cothraigi dotfail[3]
*con*amoltán *for*amuin."

Illa vero hora alius iuuenis cum sua matre gestante arietem coctum in dorso portandum ad cenam regis uenit. Rogaid Pa*traic for*sinm*acc* inmolt do thesorgain[4] a einich. Dob*ert* in m*acc* fócetóir lafáiltiu. Níbu thol diamathair imm*orro* arhuaman[5] ind*ríg*. Dorat[6] Pa*traic* ambiaid[7] donaib druth*aib*, *ocus* rodosluicc in talam focetóir. Dercc m*acc* Scirire dinDéiss*i* tuaisc*irt* atóisech. *Ocus* asb*ert* Patr*aic* nat bíad rí na rígdamna ná epscop díachined[8] (.i. Lomáin) cubráth. Asb*ert* imm*orro* do dechon Manntan,[9] nábad ardd achong*báil* atal*main*,[10] *ocus* robad adba daiscairsluaig, *ocus* darmiregtais cairich *ocus* muca tarathaissi. Asb*ert* imm*orro* fr*i* Nessan doresart a enech: "Potens es gentis," et baubtizauit eum et ordinauit diaconum, et fundauit eclesiam sibi [.i.] Mungairit. Dixitque matri[11] excussanti quod non in loco filii sui sepeli[r]etur. Quod uerum est. Atá afert isintír fr*i* Mungarit aníar, *ocus* nicluint*er* incloce asinca*thraig* móir isinluc sin. Pene [simul][12] sunt, segregante tantum muro.

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[1] ní damnitatar, R.; nidamdatar, E.
[2] cerae, R. and E.
[3] dodfail, E.
[4] thesorcuin, E.
[5] arhuamuin, E.
[6] Dobert, E.
[7] ambiad, E.
[8] diachiniud, E.
[9] dechoin Mantán, E.
[10] italmain, E.
[11] nri. R.
[12] Sic E.

to ask for food. They suffered no excuse. "Go," saith Patrick, "to Lommán and to deacon Mantán that they may help me."[1] But they (refused and) said, "It is not public criers that shall bless for us the beginning of our banquet." Then said Patrick:

"The boy who arriveth from the north
To him the victory hath been given.
Unto Cothraige[2] he is near
With his wether on his back."

At that very hour came a certain youth [named Nessán] along with his mother, carrying a cooked ram on her back, to be brought to the king's feast. Patrick begged the boy to give him the wether [that he might bestow it on the jugglers] to save his honour. The boy at once gave it gladly. The mother, however, was not willing for fear of the king. Patrick gave the food to the jugglers, and straightway the earth swallowed them up. Derg, son of Scirire,[3] of the Déisi, was their leader. And Patrick said that of Lommán's race there would never be king, nor crown-prince, nor bishop. He said, moreover, of deacon Mantán, that his cloister on earth would not be lofty, and that it would be the dwelling of rabble, and that sheep and swine would come over his remains. He said, however, to Nessán, who had saved his honour: "Thou art mighty of race." And he baptized him, and ordained him deacon, and founded a church for him, namely, Mungret. And he said to Nessán's mother as she was excusing herself, that she would not be buried in her son's place, which thing is true. Her grave is in the ground to the west of Mungret, and the bell out of the great Caher is not heard in that place.[1] They are close together, a wall only separating them.

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[1] by feeding the jugglers.

[2] a name for Patrick, v. supra, p. 17.

[3] Dergio Schirij filio, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 157.

[4] ad tantam distantiam quod pulsus campanarum majoris Ecclesiae Mungairetensis in ea non audiatur, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 158.

Rawl. B. 512, fol. 24, a. 2.

Tuathmumæ[1] f*ri*Luimnech antuaith, lot*air* imurchoblaigib arcenn Pat*raic* fades cuDomna*ch* Mór Maigi Áine .i. Dun nÓacféne intansin *ocus* indíu. Et babtizauit [24 b. 1] eos iTir-Glass f*ris* anairdes.

Luid iar*um* hiFininne[2] f*ri*Domnach Mór aniartuaith telach asanacastar[3] intuath f*ri*Luimnech antuaith, cotarat be*n*nacht*ain* arTuathmumain[4] aradudrachtaigi dodechat*ar* *con*imbiud angabal arcenn Pa*traic*.

Káirtind[5] m*acc* Blait sen clanne Tairdelb*aig* roc*r*eit donChoimd*id*, *ocus* rombaitsi Pa*traic* oc Sańgul .i. sain aingel. Dodech*aid* dia acall*aim*sium alla sin, *ocus* nisé Victor. Nochab*er*tis clanna doCharthiun[n] *acht* michorthi [cosein[6]]. ISandsin ruc*ad* Eoch*u* Bailldeirg m*acc* Cairthinn. Patr*aic* rocruth*aig* dinpairtt chrou *ocus* curabai inballsin innachurp do comartha indferta.[7]

Nochadech*aid* feisin .i. Pa*traic*, isatir; a*cht* atchid atir ass imLuimnech siar *ocus* fothuaith, *ocus* be*n*nachais innairiu, *ocus* aninsiu,[8] et profetauit de sanctis qui in eiś fierent nominibus et tempore quo peruenirent.[9] "INtailen glas tiar," olPa*traic*, "imbelaib inmara, ticfę[10] inchaindel domuint*ir* De ind bes cenn nathchomairc dintuaith si .i. Senan Insi Cath*aig* dia sé *fich*it bl*iad*an ósin .i. Senán m*acc* Gerginn[11] m*aicc* Dubth*aig*.

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[1] Tuath mumu, E.
[2] hi Finnine, E.
[3] ásanacastar, E.; asacastar, R.
[4] for tuaith mumain, E.
[5] Kairthend, E.
[6] Sic E.
[7] dochomurthu indferta, E.
[8] innairiud *ocus* a insi, E.
[9] peruenissent, E.
[10] tiefaid, E.
[11] Gerrginn, E.

The men of North Munster to the north of Limerick went in sea-fleets to meet Patrick southward to Domnach Mór Maige Aine: that is to say, Dún n-Óac-fene at that time and to-day, and he baptized them in Tír-glass to the south-east of it.

He afterwards went into Fininne, to the north-west of Domnach Mór, a hill from which is seen the country to the north of Limerick. And he bestowed a blessing on (the people of) North Munster for the willingness with which they had come with abundance of their gifts to meet Patrick.

Cairthenn, son of Blatt, senior of the children of Toirdelbach, believed in the Lord, and Patrick baptized him at Sangal; that is, a different (*sain*) angel (*aingel*) went to converse with him on that day, and it is not Victor.[1] No children save mis-births used to be born to Carthenn. Then Echu Redspot, son of Carthenn, was brought forth. [He was a shapely boy.] Patrick had formed him of the clot of gore, and that spot was in his body as a sign of the miracle.

Patrick himself did not go into the land (Thomond); but he saw[2] the land round Limerick in the west and to the north, and he blessed the territories and their islands, and he prophesied of the saints who would be therein, their names and the time at which they would arrive. "The green island in the west," saith Patrick, "in the mouth of the sea. Therein shall come the candle of God's household who shall be the chief of counsel for this district," namely, Senán of Inis Cathaig, six score years thence, Senán, son of Gerrchenn, son of Dubthach.

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[1] qui aliàs solebat ad virum beatum venire, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 158. See above pp. 21, 26.

[2] è vertice montis *Fintine* dicto, iuxta *Domnach-mor*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 158.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 24, b. 2.

Nochadech*aid* d*ano* Pat*raic* tarLuachair siar anIarm*umain*.[1] Profetauit doBrenainn m*acc* uuAltæ qui nasceretur .cxx. anno. Quod impletum est.

Luid iar*um* isinDeis deisc*irt*. Folamadar[2] *congbail* inArd-Pa*traic*, *ocus* ata lec Patr*aic* and, *ocus* torainn achilli. F*ri*studchaid do as Derball m*acc* Ǽda. Asbert Derball f*ri*Pat*raic*, "Diacumscaigthi in [24 b. 2] sliab isinmaiginsin co*n*nacinn Loch Lungæ tairis fadess hiFeraib Maigi Feine, nocreitfind." Cend-Ḟeb*rat* ainm intsleibi *ocus* Belach Legtha ainm inbe*laig* rolegai and. Dixit Derball f*ri* Pat*raic* otharinnscan insliab legad, "Cia dogne ni ba ní airi." Asbe*rt* [Patraic[3]] f*ri*-Derball: "Níbia rí na epsco*p* dotcheniul cobrath, *ocus* bid dilmain doḟeraib Muman (fa)rlomrad cach sechtmad bli*adain* do(grés) am*al* fol[t]chep.[4]

Diambai Pat*raic* hicrich nanDeisi occ idnaidi[5] rig intire .i. Firgair m*acc* Rossa, asb*ert* Pat*raic* f*ris* iarnatiachtain: "ismall cutudchad." "Isimrighin intuath." "Fír,"[6] ol Pa*traic*, "rí níbia uáit tré bithu; *ocus* cid fotroiraig[7] indiu?" olPa*traic*. "Fonroiraig[8] flecho*d*," ol inrí. "Bid frosaig[9] far ndalai cob*rath*," olPa*traic*. Ata (tipra) Pat*raic* indú sin *ocus* atá cell m*aicc* Clarid di munt*ir* Pat*raic*, *ocus* ní glet*er* dala lasnaDéisi *acht* indaidchi, ol fo*r*ácaib [Patraic[10]] (br)eithir fo*r*aib, ol is frihaidchi dodech(atar) chuice.

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[1] iniarmumain, E.
[2] dogné ní, E.
[3] Sic E.
[4] foltccip, E.
[5] idnaidiu, E.
[6] is fir em, E.
[7] fodtroiraig, E.; fotroraigh, R.
[8] fónroiraid, E.; fonroraigh, R.
[9] frossaig, E.
[10] Sic E.

Now Patrick did not go over Luachair on to West Munster. [But] he prophesied of Brenainn Maccu-Ailte who should be born [in that country] one hundred and twenty years afterwards; which thing hath been fulfilled.

Then he went into the southern Déisi. He desired a cloister in Ard-Pátraic;[1] and Patrick's flag-stone is there, and the plan of his church.[2] Derball son of Aed[3] opposed him. Derball said to Patrick: "If thou wouldst remove the mountain in that place so that I might see Loch Lungae over it to the south in Fir Maige Feine, I would believe." Cenn-Ḟebrat is the name of the mountain, and Belach Legtha ('pass of melting') is the name of the pass that melted there. Derball said to Patrick when the mountain began to melt: "Though thou do it, there will be nothing for it." Said Patrick to Derball: "There will not be till Doom either king or bishop of thy race; and it shall be lawful for men of Munster to peel you always, every seventh year, like an onion."

While Patrick was in the province of the Déisi, awaiting the king of the country, namely, Fergair son of Ross, Patrick said to him after his arrival: "Thou hast come slowly." "The country is very stiff," [saith the king]. "True, indeed," saith Patrick: "there shall never be a king from thee; and what is it delayed thee to-day?" saith Patrick. "Rain delayed us," saith the king." "Your folkmotes shall always be showery," saith Patrick. Patrick's well is in that place, and there is the church of Macc Clarid, one of Patrick's household; and folkmotes are not held by the Déisi except at night. For Patrick left that word upon them, since it is at night that they came to him.

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[1] .i. collis Patricij, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 158.

[2] metae Ecclesiae tunc positae expressis vestigiis visuntur, *ibid.*

[3] regionis illius Dynasta, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 24 b. 2.

Romallach[1] da*no* Pat*raic* glaisi inmennattasin íarsaní robathi[2] (ali)bair indib, *ocus* doratsat indíascari era fo*r*amuint*ir*. Asbe*rt* Pa*traic* naptis torthig *ocus* nabeitís[3] muilli fo*r*aib cobrath [acht hisinnaccai muilenn echtrand nobeitis cobráth[4]] íarnaroeimbed cosin. Robendach*as*tar (im*morro*) inSúir *ocus* intír olchenai, *ocus* istoirthech éisc *acht* maigen atíagat nagla(issi) inde.[5]

Luid Pa*traic* iM*u*scraigi Tíri, babtizare atque praedicare fidem et fundare[6] fidem ibi. Inueni[un]tur tres fratres illius regionis potentes, Fuircc *ocus* Munnech *ocus* Mechar meic Forat m*aicc* C*on*lai. Credidit Munnech protinus, *ocus* [25 a. 1] romb*aitsi* Pa*traic* *ocus* rombe*n*nacha,[7] *ocus* forácaibh ordnidi lóech *ocus* clei*rech* uad cubráth, *ocus* ardrígi athiri úad cubrath, sicut dixit connotare:[8]

Creitis Munnech mar doPa*traic* riacách,
combia fo*r*atuaith tóisiuch uaid[9] cubráth.
Creitis Mechar cerp: ba fer *con*dilc fír.
dobe*rt* Pa*traic* be*n*n*acht* inbuain cetlud do fri ríg.[10]
Frithmbert infer fercach Fuircc[11] ciarbu riglach liath:
adál fudíud iarcách bith amin cobrath, nilíach.

Sicut praediximus, Munnech a fratribus in regnum segregavit. Duodecim vero Munnich filios sustenuit ad se uenire, hoc est Muscán, Cellachán, Imchad,[12] Dubthach, Gairtne, Lamnid, T*r*ián, Carthach, Niall, Nainnid,[13] M*acc* nissi; Coninn, qui tarde[14] venerunt ex-

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[1] Romallacht, E.
[2] iarsindi robate, E.
[3] nadbeitis, E.
[4] Sic E.
[5] hitiagait naglaissi indi, E.
[6] fundara, R.
[7] rombendach, E.
[8] conotar*e*, E.; *con*ōte, R.
[9] tóisech uad, E.
[10] for ríg, E.
[11] Fuirgg, E.; Fuiricc, R.
[12] Imchath, E.
[13] Naindid, E.; Nandith, Colg.
[14] Sic E., tarte, R.

Then Patrick cursed the streams of that abode because his books had been drowned in them, and the fishermen had given his people a refusal. Patrick said that, notwithstanding[1] their great abundance up to that time, the streams would not be fruitful, and that there should never be mills upon them, but that they should always be in the neighbourhood of foreigners' mills. Howbeit he blessed the Suir and the land besides; and the Suir is fruitful in fish except where the [said] streams enter it.

Patrick went into Muscraige Thíre, to baptize and to preach the faith and to establish the faith therein. Three brothers, dynasts of that region, are found—Fuirc, and Munnech and Mechar, sons of Fora, son of Connla. Munnech believed at once, and Patrick baptized him and blessed him, and left illustrious laymen and clerics from him for ever, and the overkingship of his country [to descend] from him till Doom. As [the poet] said, to connote [this]:

Munnech the great believed in Patrick before every one,
Wherefore over his tribe the leader is always from him.
Mechar the keen believed: he was a man of true counsel.
Patrick gave [him] a lasting blessing, companionship to him with the King.
The furious man Fuirc opposed, though he was a hoary royal hero.
His lot [is to be] at the end after every one; he will be thus for ever; not lamentable.

As we said before, Patrick set apart Munnech from his brothers in the kingdom, but he permitted Munnech's twelve sons to come to him, that is, Muscán, Cellachán, Immchath, Dubthach, Gairtne, Lamnid, Trián, Carthach, Níall, Naindid, Macc-nisse, Coninn, who all came late,

[1] Lit. after.

Rawl. B. 512, fol. 24, b. 2.

cepto Muscano, cui propter[1] hoc prae omnibus fratribus regnum distinauit [vir Dei[2]]. Quod adhuc ma[net] sine commotatione.[3] Coninn [vero se] excusauit causa[4] sepis exponendæ. Cui Patricius dixit, quod progenies eius nunquam in eter(num) muris a[ut] sepibus potuiset habitacula, aut[5] agros ad integrum munire; nam sí terram fodiunt, dehiscit, si sepem ponunt,[6] cadit cito, si insolas in gronna,[7] nunquam firmiter posunt stare. Cell[ach]án[8] dixit, quod causa munerum debendorum,[9] utrum illi ab alico seu alicui ab eo [nescio,[2]] tarde peruenit. Cui Patricius dixit: "Omni[10] spatio, quo apud Muminenses[11] amnestia mea uitiata fuerit, et tu transgressus fueris, etiamsi alii liberi fuerint aliqua causa, nunquam tu et gens tua euadet, aut reum morti[12] aut .uii. ancellas reddere [debet[2]]." Carthach dixit, quod credidisset si tantum expectaret[13] alumnum (.i. a aiti) suum, [volens videre[2]] utrum prohiberet eum, an non. Patricius dixit quod prudentes et ingeniosi mundialibus causís ex se et progenie eius, fuissent regno hoc alienati. [25 a. 2] Sic quod uerbum unicu[i]que ex eis dixit: quod impletum est.

Orulę Coathraigi[14] cáin f*or* Ér*inn* uaig
f*or*slog inna insise dob*er*t bendacht mbuaín.
Bá saml*aid* inb*en*nacht sin, dosmbert cu fasecht
f*or*cach æn conoaba[15] acáin réil, arecht.
Ciphe *con*dascarasi incain condelcc sóer
asb*er*t nimanaccigtis hitír innanæb,[16]
Ocus nad mbad iarfasti achiniud la cách
ocus natmbiad a athgab*ail* diachiniud cubráth.

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[1] cum prop, R.

[2] Sic, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159.

[3] commutatione, Colgan.

[4] Sic Colgan; cavsvm, R.; causam, E.

[5] an, R.

[6] si terram fodiunt, et dein sepem ponunt, Colgan.

[7] gronda, Colgan.

[8] Cellachan, E.; Keallachan, Colg.

[9] munnervm debendarum, R.

[10] Sic Colgan; omnis, R. and E.

[11] Mumunienses, Colg.

[12] Colgan has 'in ream morti.'

[13] expectaretur, R.; expectarent, Colg.

[14] Cathirge, E.

[15] for cach naon conoabad, E.

[16] inna nóeb, E.

except Muscán. Wherefore the man of God destined the kingdom for him in preference to all the other brothers, which thing still remains without alteration. But Coninn excused himself on account of setting out a fence; so Patrick said to him that his offspring would never be able to fortify completely their dwellings or their fields with walls or fences. For if they dig the earth it gapes. If they put up a fence it falls quickly. If they [build] islands in a bog (*crannogs*[1]) they never can stand firmly. Cellachán said he had come late because of debts, whether due to him by some one, or to some one by him, I know not. Unto him Patrick said: "At any time in which my amnesty on Munster is out of force, and thou shalt have transgressed, even though others may be free from some cause, never shalt thou and thy race escape, but must either give up the accused to death, or pay seven cumals." Carthach said that he would believe if only they would await his fosterfather, wishing to see whether he would forbid him or not. Patrick said that from him and his descendants there would come persons expert and subtle in worldly questions [but] that they would be separated from this kingdom. Unto each of them he thus said a word; which hath been fulfilled.

When Cothraige[2] imposed a rule[3] upon virginal Ireland
On the host of this isle he conferred a lasting blessing.

Thus was that blessing, he gave it up to seven times,
On every one who shall keep his clear rule, his law.

Whosoever breaks the rule,[3]—noble comparison,—
He said that they would not see him in the land of the saints,

And that his race would not be with everyone after . .
And that his race would never have its reprisal.

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[1] or, in German, Pfahlbauten.
[2] i.e. Patrick, v. supra, p. 17.
[3] pensio, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159; and see Reeves, *Primate Colton's Visitation*, iii.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 25, a. 2.

Cáin Pa*trai*c la[mór]M*um*ain[1] fucres for*c*ach cl*aind*
*con*darochaill Dungalach, do sil[2] Failbi Fl*aind*.

Dungalach m*acc* Fælg*us*a ua[Na]d-froich fír
ishé cita tairmdechoid cain Pat*raic* op*rim*.

Atfiadar hisench*as*aib, rofit*ir* cach lin,
nad fogabar achomarb*as* iCaisel[3] naRíg.

No*con*fil dia genelach,[4] cia rocatha[5] clói,
eps*cop* ardd, na airchinnech, na flaithem, na sói.

Soerg*us* damaile[6] coblith sil anghæ án míad
collais caín *co*retegair do Dungalach dían.

Dec*cas*tar nach oirddnidi día chined[7] ingnád,
manid fil ni fuigebthar ondiu coti b*rá*th.

IARsindi,[8] t*ra*, forothaigestar Pat*raic* cella *ocus* congbala laM*um*ain; *ocus* roorddnest*ar* Pa*trai*c æs gacha g*rá*id,[9] *ocus* roíc æs gacha tedma,[10] *ocus* dorothodi*us*aig marbu. Ceilebr*ai*s dóib iarsuidiu *ocus* fácbais be*n*nachtain leo.[11]

Luith iar suidiu coBrosnacha. Lot*air* fir Muman inadiaidh feib d*us*nucsat cách dib[12] dialailiu, *ocus* imroiset atelchai [innandegaid[13]] dodula indeg*ai*d Pa*trai*c. Robennach Pa*trai*c iar*um* innatelcha tarrasatair[14] in-

[1] mormumuin, E.
[2] disíl, E.
[3] hi Caisiul, E.
[4] genelaich, E.
[5] rochathu, E.
[6] ócamaile, E.
[7] chiniud, E.
[8] Iarsuidiu, E.
[9] cachgraid, E.
[10] cech tedmæ, E.
[11] léu, E.
[12] díib, E.
[13] inadegaid, E.
[14] tarrastar, E.

Patrick's rule[1] in great Munster was imposed upon every clan
Until Dungalach of the race of Failbe Flann broke it.

Dungalach son of Faelgus, the grandson of true Natfráich,
Is he who first transgressed Patrick's rule[1] from the beginning.

It is told in old tales, every multitude knows it,
That his successorship is not in Cashel of the Kings.

Though he won battles, of his offspring there is not
A high bishop nor an *airchinnech*,[2] nor a prince nor a sage.

Sóergus[3] . . . . splendid honour,
Broke the law he had . . . . for vehement Dungalach.

It is seen that no illustrious man is of his strange race.
If there is none [now] none will be found from to-day till Doom shall come.

Now, after that Patrick founded churches and cloisters in Munster; and Patrick ordained folk of every grade, and healed all manner of sick folk,[4] and raised the dead to life. After this he bade them (the Munstermen) farewell and left a blessing with them.

After this he went to Brosnacha. The men of Munster went after him as if each of them would outstrip the other. And their households[5] fared after them to go after Patrick. Then Patrick blessed the households that

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[1] pensio, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159.

[2] manager of church-lands, or here, perhaps, abbot.

[3] cujus tempore per culpam *Soergassii Hua-moelcobhthaich*, huius devotae pensionis tot annis continuata solutio primo recusata vel neglecta est, et hinc idem Dungalacius in suo semine creditur severe punitus a Domino, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 159.

[4] Lit. folk of every sickness.

[5] Lit. hearths. Colgan renders by 'colles' (tropicè nempè).

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 25, a. 2.

naninedaib. ISann, *tra*, duairthetar fir M*um*an inti Pat*raic* .i. feraib, m*a*caib, mnaib, oc Brosnach*aib*. Corolsat[1] mórgáir *ocus* morbroscur arfailti derchaisen[2] f*or*Pat*raic* *ocus* ishohein roainmnigthi Brosnacha. *Ocus* isandsin [25. b. 1.] doroithiusaig Pat*raic* Fot m*a*cc Deraig do feraib Muman .xxuii. *Ocus* isand sin rob*en*nach fleith inméich iCraibecaib[3] icepsc*op* T*ri*an perigrinus[4] de Romanis diarośásta fir M*um*an *ocus* sruithi hErenn olchenai. ISandsin rochleb*air* Pa*traic* iterum doferaib Muman, *ocus* dob*ert* b*en*nach*t*ain f*or*aib, dicens:

"B*en*nacht f*or* firu Muman,
feraib, m*a*ccaib, mnaib,
b*en*nacht f*or*sintal*main*
dob*eir* tarad dáib.

B*en*n*acht* forcéch nindbas
gignes f*or*ambrugaib,
cennach forécob*air*,[5]
b*en*n*acht* De f*or*M*um*ain.

B*en*n*acht* f*or*ambenna,
f*or*aleca loma,
b*en*n*acht* f*or*anglenna,
b*en*n*acht* f*or*androma.

Gainem lir folongaib
robat lir ateall*aig*,
ifánaib, ireidib,
isléibib, imbennaibh." B*en*n*acht*.

Luid Patraic iar suidiu icrich Ua[6] Falgi; *ocus* romáidi Foilgi B*er*raidi nomairbfed Pat*raic*, dú icomraicfed f*ri*s, indígail [ind idail[7]] Cinn Chruaig, ol iscisidc

[1] coraltsat, E.
[2] dercaisin, R.; dercaisen, E.
[3] craibechaib, E.
[4] Sic E.; perigrim*us*, R.
[5] foré cob*air*, R.; fore cobair, E.
[6] Sic, E.; va, R.
[7] Sic, E.

had remained in their places; so then the men of Munster, that is to say, men, women and children, overtook Patrick at Brosnacha, and they uttered a great cry and great joyful clamour (*broscur*) for gladness of looking upon Patrick; and from that the Brosnacha were so named. And it was there that Patrick brought to life Fot son of Derach, of the men of Munster, [who had been dead] twenty-seven [years]. And it is there that he blessed at Craibecha the feast of the bushel [given] by Bishop Trian, a pilgrim of the Romans, when the men of Munster and the elders of Ireland also were satisfied. Then Patrick again bade farewell to the men of Munster, and bestowed blessing upon them, saying:—

"Blessing on the men of Munster,
Men, boys, women!
Blessing on the land
That gives them fruit.

Blessing on every treasure
That shall be produced on their plains,
Without any one (being) in want of help,
God's blessing on Munster!

Blessing on their peaks,
On their bare flagstones,
Blessing on their glens,
Blessing on their ridges.

Like sand of sea under ships,
Be the number of their hearths:
On slopes, on plains,
On mountains, on peaks."

After this Patrick went into the province of Húi Falgi; and Foilge Berraide boasted that he would kill Patrick wherever he should meet with him, in vengeance for the

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 25, b. 1.

robu día do Ḟoilgi.[1] Doceltatar, *tra*, amuint*er* ar Pa*traic*, aní romáidi Foilg*i*. Láa ann asb*ert* aara (.i. Odran) f*ri*Pa*traic*, "Ol atúsa ciana icc[2] araidecht duitsiu, abobba Pa*traic*, nomléiccsi isinp*rím*ṡuidiu indíu. Bát*u*su b*us* ara." Dorigni Pa*traic*. Iarsin dochóid Foilgi cotarat fúasma t*ri*aOdrán hi richt Pa*traic*. "Momallacht,—" olPat*raic* —"f*or*bile Bri-dam," olOd*rán*. "Bííd da*no* saml*aid*," ol Pat*raic*. Atbath Foilgi státim *ocus* dochoid inIf*er*n. Foilgi Ros im*morro*, issi acl*and* ﬁl isintír indíu. *Ocus* romb*en*nach Pa*traic ocus* ishuad flaithi*us* intíri cubráth.

Fecht luid Pa*traic* f*or* slig*id* Midlúachra dothecht hi tír nUl*ad*, cucomarnaic and fri sáiru bat*ar* ocesorcain omnai[3] ibair. *Con*accai Pat*raic* dolluid afuil tríanandernanda na mogad occon[d]essorgain.[4] "Can duibsi?" olPa*traic*. "Mog*aid*ne," ol síat, "do Tríun m*acc* Féic, m*aicc* Amalg*aid* .i. b*rathair* do Thrichem.[5] Ataam indóiri[6] *ocus* imór [25. b. 2] -imniud. *con*náléict*her* dún cid aithiug*ud* arniarnd f*ri*lic, gurab mesaiti dun[7] *ocus* curap andsati[8] dotoet[9] ar fuil trianarláma." Be*n*nachais Pa*traic* na iarnu comdar soimb*er*ta[10] de, *ocus* luid doc*um* ind*r*íg doRáith Trena. *Ocus* t*r*oisciss Pat*raic* fair. Ní derna T*r*ían ní ari. Soiss Pa*traic* arabárach ondún. Focheird asaili f*or*sindailig bái dóu f*or*sindtṡet, corroemid[11] hitrí indail. Doléic[ed] da*no* intresrann dontseili[12] mili cemenn. Asb*ert* Pat*raic*: "dát*r*ian int*r*oiscthi f*or*sindailig, t*r*ian f*or*sind*r*íg *ocus* f*or*sindun *ocus* forsintúaith. Niconbia rí na rígdamna

[1] Foilgiu, E.
[2] oc, E.
[3] ommna, E.
[4] tria na dernanda (.i. na modad) icondesórcain, E.
[5] Trichem, E.; Trithem, R.
[6] indoirsi, E.
[7] corup messude dun, E.
[8] corup ánsude, E.
[9] cotaet, E.
[10] soimmbertude, E.
[11] Sic E.; coromid, R.
[12] dontseliu, E.

idol Cenn-cruaich, for he was a god of Foilge's. Now, his household concealed from Patrick what Foilge had boasted. One day his charioteer Odrán said to Patrick: "Since I am now a long time charioteering for thee, O Master Patrick, let me to-day sit in the chief seat and do thou be charioteer." Patrick did so. Thereafter Foilge went and gave a spearthrust through Odrán in the shape of Patrick. "My curse—" saith Patrick,—"on the tree of Brí-dam," saith Odrán. "Be it so then," saith Patrick. Foilge died at once and went into hell. As to Foilge Ross, however, it is his children who are in the land to-day. And Patrick blessed him, and from him is the sovranty of the land for ever.

Patrick once went on the road of Midluachair, to go into the land of Ulster, and there he met with wrights who were felling a yew-tree. Patrick saw that the blood came through the palms of the slaves at the felling. "Whence are ye?" saith Patrick. "We are slaves," say they, "to Trían son of Fíacc, son of Amalgad, a brother of Trichem's. We are in bondage and in great tribulation, and we are not allowed even to sharpen our irons against a flagstone, so that it may be the worse for us, and so that it may be the more difficult. Wherefore blood comes through our hands." Patrick blessed the irons so that they became the more easily used, and he went to the king, to Rath-Tréna. And Patrick fasted against him. Trían did nothing for him. Patrick turned on the morrow from the fortress. He cast his spittle on the rock which lay on his road, and the rock broke into three. A third part of the spittle[1] was then flung a thousand paces. Patrick said: "Two thirds of the fasting on the rock, a third on the king and on the fort and on the district. There will be

[1] For *dontseili* we should perhaps read *dond-ailig* "of the rock."

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 25, b. 2.

dicl*aind* Trenai. Atbélai immuichi[1] fadeisin *ocus* regaid anif*er*n serb sís."

Trian fadeisin luid dochenglad *ocus* dobúalad in[na][2] mog*ad* doratsat contan dóu. Nosrengat ae[i]ch inacharp*ut* *ocus* a ara, collotar isinloch. Loch Trena a ainm. Bid he sin a oscur dedenach. Ní terga asinloch sin cotí [ass[2]] f*ri* esp*er*tain mbratha, *ocus* nibá archenn sonmig[i][3] cid hisodain.

Seitich indríg luid indeg*aid* Pat*raic*. Dogene aithrigi, slechtais. B*en*nachais Pat*raic* abroind *ocus* agein[i][4] .i. Setna m*acc* Trena [*ocus* Iarlaidi mac Trena].[2] Sechnall robaithis Setna. Pat*raic* robaitsest*ar* Iarlaidi, *ocus* adub*art* Pat*raic* robbad[5] chomarba dóu iartain.[6]

Bái alaili [duine[7]] andgaid hitirib Ul*ad* .i. iMaig Inis intansin .i. m*acc* Cuill; eccraibdech *ocus* m*acc* báis, nobíd oclatairecht *ocus* nomarbad na[8] cuitechta. Fecht ann luid Patr*aic* inalailiu laithiu sechai cum suis soci[i]s, *ocus* ropail dó[9] marbad Pat*raic*. Is*ed* roraidi m*acc* Cuill f*ri*a munt*ir*: "Ishe so," olsé, "intailcenn *ocus* insáibthaid fil ic bregad cáich.[10] Tiagam cutartam ammus fair dús in fortachtaigfe adea." Is*ed* rodolb[26 a. 1]-sat[11] [dídu,[12]] fer dia munt*ir* dotab*air*t[13] f*or*fúat, amal bid marb, dia thod*ú*scud doPat*raic* *ocus* dobrégad[14] Pat*raic*, *ocus* doratsat b*ra*t dar achorp *ocus* daragnuis. "Íc dún," olsíat f*ri*Pat*raic*, "arfer comtha,[15] *ocus* dena guidi inChoimdeth curothodúsci[16] hé abás."

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[1] immochai, E.

[2] Sic E.

[3] sónmigi, E.

[4] ingeni, E.

[5] rubu, E.

[6] In R. and E. this paragraph comes before the paragraph beginning *Trian fadeisin*.

[7] dúni, E.

[8] Sic E.; no, R.

[9] Sic E.; do, R.

[10] breccud chaich, E.

[11] rodolpset, E.

[12] Sic E.

[13] dothob*air*t, E.

[14] dobréccud, E.

[15] commtha, E.

[16] doChoimded coruthodiusci, E.

of Trían's children neither king nor crownprince. He himself shall perish early and shall go down into bitter hell."

Trían himself went to bind and beat the slaves who had given an account (?) of him. His horses drag him and his charioteer off in his chariot, and went into the lake. Loch Tréna is its name; that was his last fall. He will not come out of that lake until the vespers of Doomsday; and it will not be for happiness even then.

The king's wife went after Patrick. She repented, she fell on her knees. Patrick blessed her womb and her children, namely, Sétne son of Trían and Iarlaide son of Trían. Sechnall baptized Sétne. Patrick baptized Iarlaide; and Patrick said that he would afterwards be a successor of his.

There dwelt at that time a certain wicked man in the lands of Ulster, namely Macc-Cuill. Impious he was and a son of Death. He used to be plundering and he used to slay the congregations. Once on a certain day Patrick with his companions went past him, and he desired to slay Patrick. Macc-Cuill said to his people: "This," saith he, "is the shaveling[1] and the falsifier who is deceiving every one. Let us go and make an attack upon him to see whether his God will help him." This is what they feigned, a man of his household to be put on a bier as if he were dead, to be brought to life by Patrick and to delude Patrick. And they put a mantle over his body and over his face. "Heal for us our comrade," they say to Patrick, "and make prayer to the Lord that He may raise him to life out of death." "My

[1] Lit. adze-head.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 26, a. 1.

"Mo debróth," arPat*raic*, "ní ingnad lem cid marb." Garban a ainm indfir: isde roraide Pat*raic*:

"Brat Garbain
biaid for colainn marbain,
acht adfesar duib inmó
ishé Garbán bías fó."

Roláiset amunt*er* inbrat diaaig*id* *con*idfuarat*ar* secc. Rosochtsatsom iar*um* et d[i]xerunt: "is duine Dé iarfír induinesi" (.i. Pat*raic*). Rocreitset fóchetoir huli *ocus* rocreiti m*acc* Cuill, *ocus* luid f*or* muir hicurach[1] oenseiched laf*orcongra* Pat*raic*. Dorodiuscad da*no* Garban atbass *ria* írnaigthi Pat*raic*. Dochoid, t*ra*, m*acc* Cuill inlaasin f*or* muir *ocus* alám dess f*ri*-Mag Inis, coriacht Manainn, *ocus* foúair[2] díís nadamraigthi isininsi f*or*achinn. *Ocus* iteisidi rop*ri*tchaiset bré*th*ir nDé hiManainn, *ocus* [is[3]] trenaforcetal robaitsidi doine inna insi sein *ocus* rocretset side. Coninnrí *ocus* Romuil ananmann.[4] Ot*con*narcat*ar* di*no*[5] infirsi m*acc* Cuill inachaurach dofucsat don[6] muir *ocus* ar-[r]oetat*ar* hé cofáilti, *ocus* rofoglainn [.i. mac Cuill[3]] in mbescna diadai oca.[7] *Ocus* dorochaid huli aimser[8] abethath occu corogaib epsc*op*oti innadegaid. Ishe inso m*acc* Cuill dimana[9] episcop*us* et antistes[10] clarus.[11] Ardde Uimnen, cuius nos sufragia adiuuent sancta!

Fecht rocotail Pat*raic* illaithiu domnaig osin muir occ Druim Bó. Cocúala fogar mór innangenti icclaide[12] rátha isind domnach. Dorogart íat *ocus* atrub*airt* f*ri*u

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[1] curuch, E.
[2] fofuair, E.
[3] Sic, E.
[4] ananmandai, R.; aanmann, E.
[5] Read, perhaps, di*du* = O.Ir. didiu.
[6] diu, E.
[7] occu, E.
[8] aimsir, E.
[9] Read de mari = *don* (*din*) *muir*, supra, line 19.
[10] Sic, E.; antestis, R.
[11] Sic, B.; antestis, R.
[12] fogur mór innangente occlaide, E.

God's doom!" saith Patrick, "'tis not strange to me though he should be dead." Garván was the name of the man. Of him said Patrick:

"Garván's mantle
Shall be on the body of a corpse,
But I will declare to you more:
It is Garván who shall be under it."

His people cast the mantle from his face and found him dry.[1] Then they were silent and said: "Truly this man Patrick is a man of God." They all forthwith believed, and Macc-Cuill believed, and at Patrick's behest he went on the sea in a coracle of [only] one hide. Then through Patrick's prayer Garván was brought to life out of death. Now Macc-Cuil went on that day to sea, with his right hand towards Mag Inis, till he reached Mann,[2] and found two wonderful men in the island before him. And it is they that preached God's word in Mann, and through their preaching the men of that island believed and were baptized. Conindri and Romuil[3] were their names. Now when these men saw Macc-Cuil in his coracle they took him from the sea and received him with a welcome; and he learnt the divine rule with them, and he spent the whole time of his life with them, until he took the bishopric after them. This is 'Macc-Cuil from the sea,' the illustrious bishop and prelate of Ard-uimnen.[4] May his holy suffrages assist us!

Patrick was once sleeping on Sunday over the sea at Druim-bó. He heard a great noise of the heathen digging a rath on a Sunday. He called to them and told them

[1] Mr. Hennessy translates *secc* by 'so,' as if it were written for the Latin *sic*. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 160) has 'ad instar trunci rigidum repererunt.'

[2] *Manniam* siue *Euboniam*, ibid.

[3] *Conderium* et *Romailum*, ibid.

[4] *Ard-ebnanensis*, ibid.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 26, a. 2.

bith inatoss; *ocus* noca[n]der[26 a. 2]-sad airi, a*cht* is oc[1] fochuitbiud robátor. Et ait Pat*ricius*: "Modebroth! labor uestrum (*sic*) non proficiat." Quod probatum est. Sequenti enim nocte uentus flans turbauit mare, et omne opus tempestas distruxit secundum uerbum Patricí.

Asbe*r*t Pat*raic* fri*h*Echaich m*acc* Muiredaig nadmbiad rí huad cobráth, *ocus* nadmbiad buiden diaceniul[2] dochum ndala nadunaid laUltu, *ocus* is iscóiliud *ocus* incsréidiud nobíad achenel: ropad gair asáigal[3] féin, *ocus* noregad inaidid.[4] ISairi bai[5] Pat*raic* doEuch*aig*, ut periti[s]simi dicunt. Di óig róedbrat*ar*[6] anóigi donChoimd*id*. Roscuimrig Echaid[7] isintracht fonatonnaib diambádud, uair[8] ro[ḟ]rithbruithset adrad idal *ocus* lanamn*as*. Otchual*a* Pat*raic* insin rogaid inrig impu *ocus* nirosét. "Do brathair inCairill, huair dorat degimpidi damsa," olPat*raic*, "*ocus* dobenaissiu he diḟleisc,[9] bid rí fein, *ocus* bíait[10] rig *ocus* flaithi huad os do[11] clainnsiu *ocus* os Ultaib huili." *Con*id he sin sil narig cubráth sil Demáin mic Cairill, m*aicc* Muiredaig, tri bréith*ir* Pat*raic*.

Ben, im*morro*, Echdach[12] slechtais focosaib Pat*raic*. Rosbaithis Patr*aic* *ocus* robe*n*nach inge[i]n bai in[a]broind[13] .i. imm*acc* amra airdairc Domangort m*acc* Ech*ach*, ishe for*á*ccaib Pat*raic* inachurp, *ocus* bieis[14] ann cubrath.

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[1] co, R., no condernasat aire acht is ic, E.
[2] diachinél, E.
[3] asaigul, E.
[4] anaigid, R.; anaidid, E.
[5] robúi, E.
[6] roedbartatar, E.
[7] Echuich, R.; Echaid, E.
[8] uairi, E.
[9] dofleisc, R.; dileisc, E.
[10] biaid, R.; biait, E.
[11] ós du, E.
[12] Echach, E.
[13] ingein boí ina broind, E.
[14] bíes, E.

to be silent; and they did it not for him, but they were mocking him. And Patrick saith: "My God's doom! let your labour be of no avail": which thing was proven; for on the following night a wind blowing stirred up the sea, and the tempest destroyed all the work, according to Patrick's word.

Patrick said to Echaid son of Muiredach,[1] that no king would ever descend from him, and that of his race there would never be a troop [large enough] for a folkmote or an army in Ulster, and that his race would be in scattering and in dispersion, that his own life would be short, and that he would come to a violent end. For this reason was Patrick [hostile] to Echaid, as the most skilled say. Two maidens had offered their maidenhood to the Lord. Echaid bound them on the seastrand under waves, for they refused to worship idols and to marry. When Patrick heard that, he entreated the king concerning them, and got them not. "Thy brother Cairell, whom thou smotest with a rod,[2] he," saith Patrick, "since he granted me a goodly boon, will himself be a king, and from him there will be kings and princes over thy children and over the whole of Ulster." Wherefore *that* is the seed of the kings for ever, the seed of Demán son of Cairell, son of Muiredach, through Patrick's word.

Howbeit, Echaid's wife knelt at Patrick's feet. Patrick blessed her, and blessed the child that lay in her womb, namely, the wonderful, renowned son Domangort son of Echaid. He it is whom Patrick left in his body, and he will live therein for ever.

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[1] de . . . Dalfictaciorum oriundus familia, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 161.

[2] Because, according to Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 161), Cairell had begged his brother not to incur Patrick's indignation.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 26, a. 2.

Luith da*no* fo*r*cúlu[1] coFiru Rois cotorinscan congbail inDruim Mór hicrich Rois os Clúain Cáin. Isand dodech*aid* intaggel[2] adochum et dixit: "ní sunn dorath[3] duit airisem." "C*est*, cairm?" olPat*raic*. "Saig inMachai fothúaid," olintangel. "Is cáin em[4] inclúainsi tís," olPat*raic*. "Bid ed a ainm," ol intaingel, "'Cluain Cáin.' [26. b. 1.] Ticfa ailithir do Bretnaib *con*geba and *ocus* bid latsu iartain." "Deo gratias ago," olPa*traic*.

Is*ed* dochoid Pat*raic* iarsin doArd Pa*traic* *fri* Lugmag[5] anair, *ocus* folamadair *con*gb*ail* and. Dodech*aid* Dál Runtir innadiaid dia astad, feib douc cách dib[6] dialailiu. Ro[s]b*en*nach[7] Pat*raic* iarsuidiu *ocus* fo*r*áccaib ordnidiu læch *ocus* cleirech díib, *ocus* ardrach fo*r*ru f*r*iatír anechtair fodéigh dodechat*ar* asatír indeg*aid* Pa*traic*.

Ticed Pat*raic* anair cachdia o Ard Pa*traic* *ocus* Mochta aníar o Lugmag,[5] cocomraictis inmacall*aim* cachdía oc Licc Mochtæ. Laa nand tuc intangel epistil eturra.[8] Arlega Pat*raic* indepis*til*, *ocus* is*ed* robái hisuidiu:

"Mochta craibdech credal,
bíid inairm irragab:
téit Pa*traic* labreith*ir* aRig,
iMachai mín anad."

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[1] forcula, R.; forculu, E.
[2] intaingil, E.
[3] nisand rorath, E.
[4] is cainem, E.
[5] Lúgmad, E.
[6] díib, E.
[7] rosbendach, E.
[8] eturru, E.

So Patrick went back to Fir Roiss, and began a cloister in Druim-Mór in the district of Ross over Clúain Cáin. There came the angel unto him and said: "Not here hath it been granted to thee to abide." "Question, what place?" saith Patrick. "Go to Armagh in the north," saith the angel. "Fair, verily,[1] is this meadow below here," saith Patrick. "Let it be its name, Fair-meadow," (*Clúain cáin* [2]), saith the angel. "A pilgrim of the Britons will come and set up there, and it will be thine afterwards." "I give thanks to God," saith Patrick.

Thereafter Patrick went unto Ard Pátraic ('Patrick's height'), to the east of Louth, and he desired a cloister there. The Dál-Runtir went after him to retain him, as each of them delivered him to another. After this Patrick blessed them, and he left [as his blessing that there would be] of them famous laymen and clerics, and that a sovran would be over them outside their country,[3] because they had gone out of their country after Patrick.

Patrick used to come every day from the east from Ard Pátraic, and Mochtae [4] from the west, from Louth, so that they came together for conversation every day at Lecc Mochtai ('Mochtae's flagstone.') One day the angel placed a letter between them. Patrick reads out the letter, and this is what was in it:

"Mochtae pious, believing,
Let him bide in the place wherein he has set up
Patrick goes at his King's word
To rest in smooth Armagh."

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[1] Or (if we read *cáinem*) 'Most fair.'

[2] *Cluain-Chaoin*, id est, secessus amoenus, siue delectabilis, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 162.

[3] praedicens eorum posteritatem, tametsi exteris dominis subjectam, multum tamen tam militum tam clericorum delectum producturam, *ibid.*

[4] quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii discipulus, Mauctens nomine, *Vita Columbae*, ed. Reeves, p. 6.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 26, b. 1.

Roaithne Pat*raic* na dá clam deacc doMochta for*ac*caib inArdd Pat*raic*, *ocus* nobe*r*thi acnamad oMochta doib [1] cach naidchi.

Dodech*aid*, *tra*, Pat*raic* iarsin donMachai la breth*ir* indang*il* comagin hitá Ráith Dare indiu. Bái alaili fer soimm airmitnech isuidiu, Dáre aainm .i. [Dare [2]] m*acc* Findch*ad*ai, m*aicc* Eog*ain*, m*aicc* Nialláin. *Con*aitigir Pat*raic* ined areglesa [3] fair. Atrubairt Dairi: "Cia dú adcobrai?" "Hisintailaig mórsi thís," olPat*raic*, dú hita Ard Machai indiu. "Nithibér," olDári; "dob*ér* duit chenai ined doreglesa [4] isinráith chobsaidsi thís,'" dú ita ind Ferta indíu. Rofothaig, *tra*, Pat*raic* re cíanai [5] hisuidiu.

Laa and tuctha dá ech Dare chuca inareglés [6] fo*r*fér, arrubu[f]érach indreilec. Roferccaigestar Pat*raic* fríu. Marba indeich fóchétóir. Atfét agilla do Dári indnísin,[7] dicens, "INc*ri*staigisi," olsé, "rom[26. b. 2]arb teochusu [8] argleith in[d]feóir bái inarcicles." Bá fergach Dári disuidiu *ocus* fo*r*or*con*gart fo*r*amogadu orgain inclei*rig ocus* aindorba asan inat (.i. asinFerta).[9] Dofanic tregat obbund focetóir combu comochraib bás dó. Arogart insetig orcain Pa*traic*, et dixit doDáre combu hé fochan [10] abáis tacrád do Pa*traic*. *Ocus* dochúas huaidi [11] dochuinchid usq*ue* ernaigthi doDáre óPa*traic*.[12] "[Ma]nisechfaid andorigni anben,[13]" olPa*traic*, "ní biad eiséirgi Dári abás cobráth." Robe*n*-

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[1] doaib, E.

[2] Sic E.

[3] areclesa, E.

[4] doreclesa, E.

[5] ré cian, E.

[6] inna reclés, E.

[7] ani sein, E.

[8] thechusa, E.

[9] aindarbu asa inatt (.i. in ferta), E.

[10] fochun, E.

[11] huadai, E.

[12] E. inserts *Respondit Patricius*.

[13] inben, E.

Patrick delivered to Mochtae the twelve lepers whom he left at Ard Pátraic, and their ration was carried to them by Mochtae every night.

Thereafter Patrick went, at the word of the angel, to Armagh [1] to the place where Rath-Dári ('Dáre's fortress') stands to-day. Therein abode a certain rich, honourable man, named Dáre,[2] to wit, Dáre son of Findchad, son of Eogan, son of Níallán. Patrick asked him for the site of his cell. Said Dáre: "What place dost thou desire?" "On this great hill below,[3]" saith Patrick,—the place wherein Armagh stands to-day. "I will not give it," saith Dáre: "howbeit I will give thee a site for the church in this strong rath below"—the place where is the *Ferta* ('grave') to-day. So Patrick founded [his cell and remained] therein a long time.

One day Dáre's two horses were brought to him into his church for grass, since the graveyard was grassy. Patrick was enraged against them. The horses were dead at once. His gillie told that to Dáre, saying, "this Christian," saith he, "hath killed thy horses because they grazed on the grass that was growing in [the close around] the church." Dáre was wroth at this, and he bade his bondsmen attack the cleric and banish him out of the place, that is, out of the *Ferta*. A sudden cholic came to Dáre at once, so that death was nigh unto him. The wife [of Dáre] forbade the attack on Patrick, and said to Dáre that the cause of his death was the annoying of Patrick; and she sent to ask Patrick for holy water [4] for Dáre. "Unless what the woman hath done . . . . ," saith Patrick, "Dáre's resurrection from death would never take place." [5]

[1] lit. 'to the *Macha*,' an elliptical expression for *Ard-Machae*.

[2] cognomento *Dearg*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162.

[3] For *thís* we should probably read *thúas* 'above.'

[4] Lit. water of prayer.

[5] nisi maturè ita prouideretur de remedio, Darium certò fore irreuocabiliter extinguendum, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162.

Rawl. B. 512. fo. 26, b. 2.

nach Pa*trai*c ind*usque*, *ocus* dorat donahib[1] timthirib, *ocus* f*o*r*o*r*con*gart atab*ai*rt tarsna heuchu *ocus* tar Dáre. Et sic fecerunt, *ocus* asraracht Dári *ocus* a eochu[2] fochetóir abás.

Rucad coiri humai[3] doPat*rai*c indedb*ai*rt[4] óDáre. "Deo gratias," olPat*rai*c. Roiarfacht Dare diamogadaib cid adrub*ai*rt Pat*rai*c. Responderunt: "'Graz[i]-cum' dixit." "Isbec inlóg degedbarta *ocus* degcori insin," olDári. F*o*r*o*r*con*gart[5] dorithisi achori dotaba*i*rt dó. "Deo gratias," olPa*trai*c. *Ocus* roiarfacht Dáre cid asbert Pat*rai*c octabairt an[6] choiri úad. Dixerunt serui: "Iss*ed* incétna atbert[7] ocatabairt uad .i. 'graticum.'" "ISdegb*ri*athar leisseom," olDári, "in gratiam[8] .i. *gra*tic*um*, oca edbairt dó *ocus* *gra*ticum oca tab*ai*rt[9] húad." Luid Dári iarsin *ocus* aseitig *con*a ogreir doPat*rai*c, *ocus* adrodb*e*rtar[10] incori doridisi doPat*rai*c *ocus* intelcha *con*aitigair ria sund. Et accepit Patricius, et benedixit ei. Et fundavit in eo loco ecclesiam cui est nomen Ard Macha.

Luid Pat*rai*c iarsuidiu *con*asruithib *ocus* Dari comaithib nanAirt*her* olchenai isin telchai dia toraind *ocus* dia bendach*ad* *ocus* dia coisrecad. F*o*rancat*ar* ailit *con*a locg maigin ita inSaball indíu. *Ocus* docuat*ar* amunt*er* dia [27. a. 1.] orccain. Et prohibuit Patricius, et dixit seruiat sibi[11] postea. *Ocus* ro[s]fáid[12] asintelchai fothuaid comaigin hita Telach naLici indíu: ibi [Dominus per eam intuitu meritorum famuli sui[13]] magna mirabilia fecit.

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[1] donaib, E.
[2] asrárachtatar huili, E.
[3] umaidi, E.
[4] inedbairt, E.
[5] forchongart, E.
[6] in, E.
[7] asbert, E.
[8] E. omits.
[9] breith, E.
[10] adrópartadar, E.
[11] sibe, R.
[12] rosfaid, E.
[13] Sic Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 162.

Patrick blessed the water and gave it to the servants, and ordered them to put it over the horses and over Dáre. And thus they did, and Dáre and his horses arose at once out of death.

A cauldron of copper was given to Patrick as an offering from Dáre. "*Deo gratias* [*agamus*]," saith Patrick. Dáre asked of his servants what Patrick had said. They answered he said, "*grazacum*." "That is a small reward for a goodly offering and a goodly cauldron," saith Dáre. He ordered his cauldron to be brought again to him. "*Deo gratias*, [*agamus* "], saith Patrick, and Dáre asked what Patrick had said when the cauldron was brought from him. The servants replied he said the same when it was brought from him, that is, *grazacum*. "It is a good word he hath," saith Dáre: "*grazacum* when it is offered to him and *grazacum* when it is brought from him." Thereafter Dáre and his wife went to Patrick with complete submission to him; and they offered the cauldron again to Patrick and the hill which he had asked for before. And Patrick accepted, and he blessed Dáre, and he founded in that place the church which is named Armagh.

After this Patrick went with his elders and Dáre with the magnates of the Airthir[1] besides, to the hill to mark it out, and to bless it, and to consecrate it. They found a doe with her fawn in the place where the Saball[2] ('Barn') is to-day, and his people went to kill her. And Patrick forbade them, and said that she should serve him afterwards. And he sent her from the hill northwards to the place wherein Telach na Licce ('the hill of the flagstone'), stands to-day; and there the Lord, in consideration of his servant's merits, did through her many marvellous things.

[1] *Oirthir*, id est Orientalis, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162. *Airthir* (still preserved in the form *Orior*) means Orientales, or Anteriores.

[2] An oratory, to be distinguished from *Saball Pátraic*, or Saul, near Downpatrick, Reeves, *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, p. 15.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 27, a. 1.

Carais ingen Dáre indní Be*n*en. Robu bind lee aguth iccond erlégund.[1] Dorala galar f*uir*ri combu marb de. Bert Benén cretra dí oPat*raic*, et [illa sancta virgo [2]] surrexit confestim uiua, et postea spiritualiter dilexit eum. Ipsa est Ergnat [3] ingen Dáre fil aTamlachtau [4] Bó.

Fecht and dodechatar noi ningena rig Longbard [5] *ocus* ingen ríg Bretan dianailithri dochum Pat*raic*, Tarrasatar fr*i*Ard Macha anair, du hitá Coll na nIngen indiu. Dodechos húadib dochum Pat*raic* d*ús* in regtais adochum. Asb*er*t Pat*raic* frisnatechta: "Regait téora ingena díib docum nime *ocus* anadnacul isinmagin atáat (.i. ocCull [6] nanIngen), *ocus* tiagat inna ingenai [7] arcena doDruim Fendeda, *ocus* tæt ingen dib coraib isinenuchaise thair." Quod síc factum est.

Dodeoch*aid* Cruimtheris iarsuidiu corogaib ic Cengobu, *ocus* nob*er*ed Benén acnabad di cech naidche óPatraic. *Ocus* roclann Pa*traic* [aball] inAchad [8] inna Elti, ruesom asinráith ituaisciurt inpoirt .i. Cengob*a*, *co*nidhé inmachadsin Aball Pa*traic* iCengobu. Blegon na elte sin, t*ra*, is*ed* doberti donmeschoin bái hifail inna ingine .i. Cruimth*iris*.

Fecht naili robai [Pat*raic* [9]] innachumsanad indered ai[d]chi ocTip*rait* Cernai iTir Tip*r*att. Doluid intan-

[1] ocandúrlegunn, E.
[2] Sic Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162.
[3] Ercnat, E.
[4] itamlachtu, E.
[5] Langbhardd, E.
[6] occúl, R. ocull, E.
[7] ingena, E.
[8] Sic E., omachad, R.
[9] Sic E.

Dáre's daughter loved Benén. Sweet to her seemed his voice at the chanting. A disease came upon her, and thereof she died. Benén took relics[1] to her from Patrick, and straightway that holy virgin rose up alive, and afterwards she loved him spiritually. She is Erenat, Dáre's daughter, who is[2] in Tamlachta Bó.

Once upon a time came nine daughters of the King of the Lombards, and a daughter of the King of Britain, on their pilgrimage to Patrick. They tarried to the east of Armagh, in the place where Coll nan-Ingen ('the maidens' hazel'), stands to-day. They sent to Patrick to find out whether they should go to him. Patrick said to the messengers: "three of the virgins will go to heaven, and bury them in the place in which they are, namely, Coll nan-Ingen. And let the rest of the virgins go to Druim Fendeda ('champion's ridge,'), and let one of them go as far as this hillock in the east," which thing was done thus.

After this Cruimtheris went and set up at Cengoba,[3] and Benén used to carry her ration to her every night from Patrick. And Patrick planted an apple-tree in Achad inna-Elta ('the field of the doe'), which he had taken out of the fort in the north of the place, namely, Cengoba. Wherefore that field [is called] Aball Pátraic[4] ('Patrick's orchard') in Cengoba. The milk of that doe it is that used to be given to the lapdog that was near the virgin, namely Cruimtheris

At another time he was resting at the end of a night at Tipra Cerna ('Cerna's well') in Tír Tiprat. The

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[1] uiscce coisernetha ('consecrated water'), *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 301.

[2] quae quiescit, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 162, citing the 'author vetustus.'

[3] in cella siue lapideo inclusorio in monte vulgo *Kenngobha* vocato, Ardmache versus orientem vicino, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 163.

[4] .i. pomus, siue pomarium Patricij, ibid. According to Colgan, S. Patrick had a shed (*tugurium*) built for this doe in *Abhall-Phadruic*.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 27, a. 1.

gel adocum *ocus* doní*us*saig. Dixit ei Patricius: "Hin fail ni hieráidinn doDia, no in fail abaraind f*rim*?"[1] olPa*traic*. "No*con*fail," ol intaingel; "*ocus* timarnad duit oDia," ol intaingel, "masued ismaith lat *con*abia cuit donach [27 a. 2] ailiu indhÉiriu *acht* duit toenur. *Ocus* ishé com*us* t*er*muind do cathrach oDia coDromma Breg *ocus* cosliab Mis *ocus* coBri nAirigi." Resp*ondit* Patricius: "Modebrod ém," olPat*raic*, "ticfat m*aicc* bethad imdiaidsi, *ocus* ismaith limsa honoír dóib óDía domeisisi isintír." Resp*ond*it angelus: "isdercaigi son da*no*; *ocus* dorat Dia hEriu[2] huili duitsiu," olintan*gel*, "*ocus* nachsoer bias inhEiriu bid latsu." "Deo gratias," olPatraic.

Robái baru[3] doPa*traic* f*ri*a fiair .i. Lupait, di pecad etraid foriachtaide[4] combu alachta de. Intan dodech*aid* Pat*raic* hisinchill anair dodech*aid* Lupait arachinn *con*tatarligg[5] innaslechtand arachiund[6] incharpait dú itá inchros imBoith Archull.[7] "In carpat tarsi," ol Pa*traic*. Dochóid incarpat tarsi cobat*hri*, olnoteiged sí[8] beos arachind. *Con*id and dochoid docum nime occundfertai, *ocus* roadna*cht* laPa*traic* iar*um*, *ocus* rogabad a ecnaire. Colm*an*, im*morro*, m*acc* Ai*le*lla, deÚib Bressail, ishé rolaa [aidi[9]] arLupait ocImduail. Ædan m*acc* Colmáin, nóeb insi Lóthair, filius Lupate et Col*máin* erat. Rogaid Lupait ar[10]Patraic arnatallad nem arCholman cum [sua[9]] progenie. Ni thall da*no* Patraic, *acht* asbe*r*t roptis galr*aig*.[11] ISdichl*aind*, *tra*, inCholmáin[12] sin hUi Failain *ocus* hUi Duib Dare.

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[1] forum, E.
[2] héiriud, E.
[3] bara, E.
[4] foruichide, E.
[5] conda tarlicc, E.
[6] archiund, E.
[7] Archall, E.
[8] olnutegetsi, E.
[9] Sic, E. Read, perhaps, *oided*.
[10] do, E.
[11] gallraig di, E.
[12] in Cholmain, E, in Cholman, R.

angel went to him and awoke him. Patrick said to him, "Is there aught in which I am wont to offend God, or is His anger against me?" saith Patrick. "There is not," saith the angel; "and it hath been ordained for thee by God," saith the angel, "if it seems good unto thee, that no one else shall have a share in Ireland, save thee alone; and the power of the sanctuary [1] of thy see from God is even unto Dromma Breg and to Slíab Mis and to Brí Airigi." Patrick answered, "My God's doom! verily," saith Patrick, "sons of Life will come after me, and I desire that they should have honour from God after me in the land." The angel answered: "That is lovingness; and God hath given all Ireland to thee," saith the angel; "and every freeman that will abide in Ireland shall be thine." "I give God thanks," saith Patrick.

Patrick was enraged with his sister, namely, Lupait, for the sin of lust which she committed (?) so that she became pregnant. When Patrick came into the church from the east Lupait went to meet him, and she cast herself down on her knees before the chariot in the place where the cross stands in Both-Arcall. "The chariot over her!" saith Patrick. The chariot went over her thrice, for she still would come in front of it. Wherefore she there went to heaven at the Ferta, and she was afterwards buried by Patrick, and her requiem was sung. Colmán, however, son of Ailill of the Húi-Bressail, it was he that cast this destruction on Lupait at Imdual. Aedán son of Colmán, saint of Inis Lothair, was the son of Lupait and Colmán. Lupait besought Patrick not to take away heaven from Colmán with his offspring: so Patrick did not take it away; but he said that they would [always] be sickly. Now, of the children of that Colmán are the Húi-Failáin, and the Húi-Duib-Dare.[2]

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[1] or, perhaps, the extent of the boundary.

[2] The text (from E.) and translation of this paragraph are given by Dean Reeves, *Ancient Churches of Armagh*, pp. 50, 51.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 27, a. 2.

Fecht and robái munt*er* Pa*traic* ocbúain orba dorigensat aT*rian*[1] *Con*chab*air*. Rosgab íta[2] mór occai. Corucad drolmach med[c]usq*ue*[3] doib oPa*traic*, *ocus* rosaslac*ht*[4] fo*r*aib ainmne do denam[5] ó theirt co esp*er*tain. *Con*erbail[6] fer dib ar ítaid, *con*id hésin incetna fer roadnacht laPat*raic* .i. Colman Ítadach i*con*chroiss indor*us* tigi Pa*traic*. Is*ed* roráidi Patr*aic* feib atcbuas dóu: [27 b. 1] "Modebrod! bíaid immed lenda *ocus* bíid *ocus* sobarthan isinchath*raig* diarnéisi."

Fecht and dodechat*ar* indaingil corucsat*ar* incloich don *con*air robói areind incharp*ait*, *con*ided a ainm, Lecc innan-Angel. IS asinmaigin sin t*ra* .i. aDruim Chaili, rob*en*nach Pa*traic* asa díb lámaib inMachai.

Is aml*aid*, *tra*, dororaind[7] Pa*traic* inraith, intangel reme *ocus* Pa*traic* inadiaid *con*amunt*ir* *ocus* cosruithib hÉrend, *ocus* bachall Ísu iláim Pa*traic*. *Ocus* asrub*air*tsom rombad mór achin doneoch immroimsed indi, amal bid[8] mór a fochraic doneoch dogénad toil nDe inde.[9]

ISaml*aid* da*no* doroimsi Pat*raic* indfertai .i. secht fich*it* t*raiged* isindlis *ocus* secht traig*id* fich*et* isintig mor *ocus* secht t*raigid* deac isinchuli: secht t*raigid* isind aregal. *Ocus* ba saml*aid* sin nofothaig*ed*som na*congbala* dog*rés*.

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[1] hitriun Conchobair, E.
[2] hitu, E.
[3] medcuisci, E.
[4] roaslacht, E.
[5] dénum, E.
[6] conderbalt, E.
[7] dodororaind, R.; doróraind, E.
[8] bad, E.
[9] nDé indi, E.

Once upon a time Patrick's household were reaping a farm which they had made in Trian Conchobair ('Conor's third.') Great thirst seized them; whereupon a pitcher of whey-water was taken to them from Patrick, and he entreated them to have patience [1] from tierce to vespers. And one of them died of thirst, and he was the first man who was buried by Patrick, namely, Colmán the Thirsty at the cross before Patrick's house. This is what Patrick said when he was told of the death: "My God's doom! there will be plenty of ale and food and prosperity in the see after us."

Once upon a time the angels went and took from the road the stone which lay before the chariot.[2] Wherefore this is its name, Lec innanAingel ('the angels' flag-stone'). Now it is from that place, namely, from Druim-chaili, that Patrick blessed Armagh out of his two hands.

The way in which Patrick measured the rath was this—the angel before him and Patrick behind the angel; with his household and with Ireland's elders, and Jesu's Staff[3] in Patrick's hand; and he said that great would be the crime of him who should sin therein, even as great would be the guerdon of him who should do God's will therein.

In this wise, then, Patrick measured the *Ferta*, namely, seven score feet in the enclosure, and seven and twenty feet in the great-house, and seventeen feet in the kitchen, seven feet in the oratory[4]; and in that wise it was that he used to found the cloisters always.[5]

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[1] *i.e.* not to drink it (inhibuit ne biberent, Colgan).

[2] 'quodque nullis humanis viribus vel artificio amoueri potuit.' The angels brought it 'in vicinum collem *Druim-chaulá* dictum,' Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 164.

[3] See above, p. 30, line 4.

[4] Sic Todd, *S. Patrick*, 475; but 'argyrotheca seu vasarium ubi supellex reponebatur,' Colgan, *ibid.*

[5] The buildings referred to were probably circular, and the measurements above given are their respective diameters.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 27 b. 1.

Dodeoch*aid* angel coPa*traic* indArdma*ch*ai. "Indiu," olsé, "fodlait*er* taissi innanapstal iRóim fócheth*ar*aird indomain, *ocus* beraitse[1] atatcomnaicsiu coróis"; et portabat Pat*ricium* angel*us* in aera.

INehros deisc*er*tach indOenach Machai, isand tuctha quatuor currus ad Patricium. INehros tuasc*er*tach im*morro*, isoccai tarfaid Dia dosom indeilb bias fair in die iudicii. Et exiit in una die cu Combur t*ri* n*U*sq*ue*.

Foracaib Sechnall inepscopoti lafiru Erend co tis*ed* in barc do breith oBordgail Letha. Luid Pa*traic* hisuidiu. Et uenit ad[2] Romam; et peruenit somnus super habitatores Romæ, cotuc Pat*raic* afolortataid dona mart*ra*ib. Ruetha iar*um* innamart*ra*sin do Arttmachai acomarli Dé *ocus* acomarli fer nErend. IS*ed* tucad and cóic martir art*ri*fichtib art*ri*b cétaib, imreilcib Póil *ocus* Pet*air* [27 b. 2] *ocus* Laurint *ocus* Stefain et aliorum plurimorum, *ocus* anairt[3] and cofuil C*rist* *ocus* co folt Mairi Ingeine. F*or*ácaib Pat*raic* inteclaimsin huili inArd-machai doréir Dé *ocus* indaingil *ocus* fer nErend. *Con*selsat amart*ra*i arPa*traic* seta letha od[4] co comarli imbi co abaid[5] Romę dobreth epistil o suidiu arambethe icconairi collochrandaib *ocus* sóutrallaib[6] indaidchi cobrath, *ocus* oifrend *ocus* salmcetul f*ri*de,

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[1] beraith sé, E.
[2] Sic E. at, R.
[3] anart, E.
[4] ód, E.
[5] cu abbaid, E.
[6] collocharmnaib *ocus* sutrullaib, E.

An angel came to Patrick in Armagh. "To-day," saith he, "the relics of the apostles are divided in Rome throughout the four quarters (of the globe), and I will carry . . . . and the angel carried Patrick into the air.

At the southern cross in Oenach Macha four chariots were brought[1] to Patrick. By the northern cross, however, God appeared to him in the shape which He will have on the Day of Judgment; and he went in one day to Combur Trí n-Usce ('Meeting of Three Waters.')

He left Sechnall in the bishopric with the men of Ireland until the ship should come from Burdigala[2] of Letavia to carry [him]. Patrick went in this and came to Rome; and sleep came over the inhabitants of Rome, so that Patrick brought away as much as he wanted[3] of the relics. Afterwards those relics were taken to Armagh by the counsel of God and the counsel of the men of Ireland. What was brought there was three hundred and three score and five relics, together with the relics of Paul and Peter and Lawrence and Stephen, and many others. And a sheet was there with Christ's blood (thereon) and with the hair of Mary the Virgin. Patrick left the whole of that collection in Armagh according to the will of God and of the angel and of the men of Ireland. They took away his relics from Patrick . . . . from him with advices concerning him to the abbot of Rome.[4] A letter was brought from him [the pontiff, directing] that there should be watching of them with lamps and lights in the night always, and mass and psalm-singing by

[1] caelitús missi, Colgan.

[2] Now Bordeaux. Cf. in Quinta Vita, c. 14, "venit cum Gallis . . . . ad Brotgalum, inde Trajectum."

[3] *Lit.* his sufficiency.

[4] According to Colgan, the relics were taken back to Rome by angels, and Patrick sent messengers to the pope, qui casum eum ipsi proponerent et remedium postularent, *Tr. Th.* p. 164. The Irish text is here unintelligible.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 27, b. 2.

ocus aurnaigthe ind aidchi *ocus* a toucbail[1] incechbl*iadain* arromuinset doib sochaidi impu.

Da brathair di Ultaib, Duban *ocus* Dubæd, gatait da gerran Pa*traic* atír itoeb innemhid[2] anair. Tír Suidi Pa*traic* a ainm. Nosb*er*at fades fon sescan. "Nibé*r*sa," ol Dubán, "lasintailcend." "Bé*r*asa am andomroig," ol Dubæd. Dotoet Dubán *ocus* gnith aithrigi. "Ní maith cuairt docheli," ol Pa*traic*. Roescrad co[r]roimid achenn *ocus* atbath. Fogleinn Duban et ordinatur. Cui Patricius dixit: "Hic erit resurrectio tua."

Fecht naili dobreth marclach cruidnechtæ[3] oSetna[4] m*acc* Dallain do Pa*traic* din maind rosenaig[5] donim isindisiurt uas Druim m*acc* Ublæ. Gerran Pa*traic* foa.[6] Dotuit g*r*ainni cruithnechtæ[3] asinmarc*luch*, *ocus* ni etas onneuch[7] ergi corricht o Pa*traic*. "ISs*ed* inso daas," ol Pa*traic* p*er* profetiam. "G*r*ainne cruidnechtæ[3] dorochair asindala bulcc dú ita inchross fo*r*slig*id* ind nemid dess. Bid Nemed da*no* nomen inpoirt ind dellechuir ingerran," ol Pa*traic*. Quod uerum est.

Fecht nali luid Sechnall do Ardmachæ, *ocus* ni raibi Pat*raic* hifoss. *Con*accai da ech carp*ait* lamunt*ir* Pa*traic* fo*r*achiund fo*r*scur, *ocus* roráidi Sechnall: "Bacoru indeich ucut dobreith donescop[8]" .i. do [28 a. 1] Fiacc. Uáir doruacht Patr*aic* atcúas dó anísin.

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[1] athurebal, E.
[2] ind nemid, E.
[3] cruithnechta, E.
[4] osetnu, E.
[5] mainn rosenaig, E.
[6] fóu, E.
[7] ondeuch, E.
[8] eps*cop*, E.

day, and prayer in the night, and that they should be exposed every year for multitudes (to see them).

Two brothers from Ulster, Dubán and Dubáed, steal Patrick's two nags out of the land beside the chapel in the east. Tír Suidi Pátraic ('the land of Patrick's seat') is its name. They take them southwards throughout the moor. "I will not take what belongs to the Adzehead,"[1] saith Dubán. "Truly, I will take what befalls me," saith Dubáed. Dubán comes and repents. "Not good is thy fellow's course," saith Patrick. Dubáed was cast down, so that his head brake and he died Dubán studies and is ordained, and Patrick said to him: "Here [in Armagh] will be thy resurrection."

Once upon a time there was brought from Sétna son of Dallán to Patrick a horseload of wheat that had dropt like manna[2] from heaven in the hermitage over Druim maicc Ublai. Patrick's nag was carrying it. A grain of wheat fell out of the horseload, and the horse [lay down and] could not be got to rise until Patrick came. "This is the cause (?)" saith Patrick by prophecy: "a grain of wheat hath fallen out of one of the two sacks"—at the stead where stands the cross on the road to the chapel (*nemed*) southwards. "Let, then, *Nemed* ('chapel') be the name of the place where the nag lay down," saith Patrick. Which thing is true.

At another time Sechnall went to Armagh, and Patrick was not (then) residing (there). Sechnall saw in front of him, with Patrick's household, two chariot-horses unyoked. And Sechnall said, "It were better to bring yon horses to the bishop," that is, to Fíacc. When Patrick arrived, that was told unto him. The chariot was

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[1] Táilchenn, see above, p. 34, line 5, and p. 35, Note 1.

[2] lit. "of the manna," which makes no sense; "ad instar mannae," Colgan.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 23, a. 1.

Roinled acarpatt f*or*sna euchu, *ocus* nosfáidi [1] Patr*aic* cen duni léu coféotar [2] inadísiurt la Mochtæ. Lot*ar* desill [3] arabarach coDomnach Sechnaill. Lot*ar* iarnamarach doChill Auxili. Lot*ar* iarsuidiu doChill Monach. Lotar iar*um* coFiacc coSlébti.

Issi tucait incharp*ait* dobreith coFiacc arnoteiged diasathairnd initi combith oc Cnoc [4] Dromma Coblai. Uaim dó ann .u. bairgin leis, ut fama [5] est. Día sathairn cásc dathaiged [6] docum Sleibti, *ocus* dothuarthed boimm leis de quinque panibus. Issi tucait incharp*ait* dobreith doFiacc. Rocnai dáil achoiss combo chomfoc*r*aib bás dáu.

Asb*er*t Sechnall f*ri*Pat*raic*, "Ciachiuin [7] dogensa molud [8] duitsi?" "Ní tecair, olPa*traic*. "Nicd asbiursa f*r*itsa," olSech*nall*, "in dingentar, ardogentars*om* éicin." "Mo debród," olPat*raic*, "ismith*ig* scuich [9] dó hitraiti. Rofitir Pátraic nipuchian [10] cohaimsir citsechta Sechnaill, arisé cetna eps*cop* dochoid fóúir nErend.

INtan baisom ocdénam indimmuin roboth oc dénam óenaig inna[f]arrad. Asb*er*t úathsom f*riu* *con*digsitis ass. Rogabsat achuitbiud. Asb*er*tsom f*r*iu: "Sloicis [11] in talam." *Ocus* rosloic [12] dacharp*at* deacc díb fóchétoir.

Asb*er*t Sechnall f*r*imunt*ir* Pat*raic* ocFerti Martar: "Maith fer Pa*traic* *acht* minapad óen. Fófer Pat*raic* acht nipad óen.[13] Otchuala Pat*raic* nabriath*r*asa lamun-

[1] nusfoidi, E.
[2] Sic, E.; cofóetar, R.
[3] deisell, E.
[4] cnucc, E.
[5] Sic E. famma, R.
[6] dotaiged, E.
[7] ciachuin, E.
[8] molad, E.
[9] Sic, E.; scuith, R.
[10] nirbo cian, E.
[11] sloicus, E.
[12] rosluicc, E.
[13] For this and the preceding sentences E. has: Math fer Patraic acht nibad óen.

yoked to the horses, and Patrick sent them without any human being with them till they rested with Mochtae in his hermitage. On the morrow they went righthand-wise to Domnach Sechnaill ('Sechnall's church'). On the day after they went to Cell Auxili. After this they went to Celi Manach. Then they went to Fíacc, to Sleibte.

This is the cause of giving the chariot to Fíacc, because he used to go on Shrove-Saturday[2] till he was at the hill of Druim Coblai. He had a cave there, and five cakes he had, as the tradition is. On Easter Saturday he used to go (back) to Sleibte and there [always] remained with him a bit of the five cakes. This is the cause of giving the chariot to Fíacc; because a beetle[1] had gnawed his leg, so that death was nigh unto him.

Sechnall said to Patrick: "When shall I make a panegyric for thee?" "[The time] is not come," saith Patrick. "I say not to thee," saith Sechnall, "shall it be made? for indeed it will be made." "My God's doom!" saith Patrick, "it is meet to be done with it quickly." Patrick knew that it was not far to the time of Sechnall's death. For he is the first bishop who went under the mould of Ireland.

When he was making the hymn they were holding a fair near him. He told them to go thence. They began to mock him. He said to them: "The earth hath swallowed up." And it forthwith swallowed up twelve chariots of them.

Sechnall said to Patrick's household at Ferte Martar: "Patrick is a good man, were it not for one thing. Patrick is an excellent man, if only there were not one thing." When Patrick heard these words among his

[1] Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 165) makes this a scorpion.

[2] 'sabbatho ante Dominicam primam Quadragesimae, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 28 a. 1.

tir, roíarfa*cht* Pa*traic* do Sechnall ind aithesc riam. Et dixit Sechnall: "Ammosruith, ideo dixi: isbec no*p*ritchaisiu dodeseircc." "Am*acc*áin," ol Patraic, "isardeseirc nap*ri*tchaimsi deseirc: ar dia p*ri*tchaind [28 a. 2] ní fóicebaind scor da ech carpuit alicui de sanctis praesentibus et futuris in hác insola; sed mihi totum quæ mea et suorum sunt."

Luid Sechnall *con*a immon doPa*traic*. Doluid Pat*raic* fo*r*Belach Midluac[h]*ra* hic*r*ich *Con*ailli. Fillis lasliab síar. Dororaid Sechnall. Bendach*ais* cách díb dialailiu. "Ba toisc dam," olSech*nall*, "molad dorignes[1] dialailiu dune nDé cocloithersu." "Fochen," olPat*raic*, "mol*ad* munt*i*ri Dé." Intindscana Sech*nall* iarsin, et dixit: "Beata Christi custodit [mandata]" ne prohibuiset Patricius si protinus nomen suum audiret. Canit[2] usque 'Maximus nanque [in regno coelorum uocabitur.'] Surgit Patricius. Elda ainmnichtir atír hi[r]rogab cosin. "Cid tói," olSech*nall*, "corrisam locc derrit fil dún indoccus,[3] is and gébthair ani arathá." Roíarfacht Pat*rai*c in uia, "Quomodo de homine diceretur[4] 'Maximus in regno cælorum'?" Respondit Secundinus: "Pro positiuo ponitur [superlatiuus,] vel de pluribus generis sui precellit, Britonum[5] vel Scotorum." Adeunt locum quem iam tunc Dallmuine dicebatur, ubi orauit et sedit; et postea quod superfuit cecinit ymni

[1] dorignius, E
[2] Canti, R. and E.
[3] inoccus, E.
[4] Sic E. dediceretur, R.
[5] Sic E. britorum, R.

household, Patrick asked Sechnall what he had previously said. And Sechnall replied: "O my elder, *ideo dixi:* little dost thou preach of charity." "My little son," saith Patrick, "it is for charity that I do not preach charity. For if I preached it, I should not leave a yoke of two chariot-horses for any one of the saints in this island, present or future; but unto me would be given all that is mine and theirs."

Sechnall went to Patrick with his hymn. Patrick fared by the Pass of Midluachair into the district of Conaille. He knelt [1] at the mountain westward. Sechnall hastened to him. Each of them blessed the other. "I desire," saith Sechnall, "that thou hear a panegyric which I have made for a certain man of God." "Welcome," saith Patrick, "is praise of God's household." [2] Sechnall then begins and he said: *"Beata Christi custodit mandata,"* [3] lest Patrick should prevent him [going on] if he (Patrick) should hear his name at once. Sechnall recited as far as *Maximus namque in regno coelorum vocabitur.* [4] Patrick gets up. The land on which Sechnall recited so far is named Elda. "Why art thou (so)?" saith Sechnall, "let us reach a secret place which we have at hand. There what remains will be recited." On the way Patrick asked how it could be said of a human being that he was 'greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' Secundinus [5] answered: "The superlative is put for the positive, or he excels most of his race, Britons or Scots." They reach the place which was even then called Dallmuine, where Patrick prayed and sat down; and afterwards Sechnall recited the remainder

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[1] I take *fillis* to stand for *fillis glúne* (genua flexit). Colgan, however, has 'ad pedem montis sedentem.' Perhaps it only means 'he turned.'

[2] or, perhaps, 'of a servant of God.'

[3] This is the fifth line of the hymn. If Sechnall had begun his recitation at the beginning, Patrick would have heard his name in the second line: *uiri in Christo beati Patricii episcopi.* See infra.

[4] the forty-fifth line.

[5] The Latin name of Sechnall.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 28, a. 2. Secundinus; et audiuit Patricius nomen, et postea gratulatus est ei.

28 b. 1. "Doas ind imuin" [ol Sechnall]. "Lín brothirni dochasla," olPa*traic*, "mad nech bed daltæ duittsiu *ocus* nadloititis besse," olSech*nall* (?) "Adethad oDia chena úr dophoirt," olPat*raic*. "Dor[o]ega inní," olSech*nall*. "Ciphe doferaib[1] hEr*enn*," olPat*raic*, "diatairset natri caiptil, nó natrí line, no [na[2]] t*ri* focaill dedencha f*ri*bás *con*innithim glain,[3] bidernama aainim." "Deo gratias ago," ol Sech*nall*.

Ymmon Pat*raic* gaibsi Colman Elo *inn*apraintig fátrí. Stetit Patricius fo*r*lar intigi, *con*erbairt[4] alaili tuata: "Nafil ocunn airnaigthi aili nogabmais acht so?" Et exit Patricius post.

Cainnech fo*r*muir tess, *con*accai dubnéll nandemna secha. "Taidlith lib octuidecht," olCainnech. Venerunt postea narrantes demones: "Exiuimus uero in o[b]uiam animæ alicuius rustici diuitis pertinentis feriam Patrici facientisque, sed filii et soceri eius edebant. Et duo capitula uel trea de imno Patrici canebat, *ocus* tartortansu, ismoo ba ær[5] oldas ba molad doPat*raic* am*al* nochanad: tamen per hoc uicti[6] sumus.[7]

28 a. 2. Dobretha t*ri* fásc*ri* grotha dó *ocus* imm olánamain irisig .i. Berach *ocus* Bríg. "Asso donaib m*ac*caib

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[1] diferaib, E.
[2] Sic, E.
[3] Sic, E.; glan, R.
[4] conderbartt, E.
[5] óer, E.
[6] Sic E. uictii, R.
[7] In R and E this and the two preceding paragraphs come next after the paragraph in p. 248, infra, beginning *Sreid Patraic*.

of the hymn; and Patrick heard his name, and afterwards wished Sechnall joy.

"The reward for the hymn!" [saith Sechnall.] "The number of hairs in thy chasuble," saith Patrick, ["the same number of sinners shall go to heaven."] "If there be any one who is a pupil of thine and the customs are not broken," saith Sechnall. "Besides, the clay of thy place hath been sent from God." "I have chosen it," saith Sechnall. "Whosoever of the men of Ireland," saith Patrick, "if the three last chapters or the three last lines, or the three last words, shall come at death with a pure intention, his soul shall be prepared (?)" "I give thanks to God," saith Sechnall.

Patrick's hymn, Colmán Elo recited it in his refectory thrice. Patrick [appeared and] stood in the house-floor. And a certain layman said, "Have we no other prayer but this, which we might recite?" And Patrick after that departed.

Cainnech, while at sea in the south, saw the black cloud of devils passing him. "Visit me when ye come, [back]," saith Cainnech. The demons afterwards came, saying: "We went forth to meet the soul of a rich countryman [1] who was accustomed to celebrate [every year] Patrick's feast [with a banquet] which his sons and sons-in-law consumed. And he used to repeat [every day] two or three stanzas of Patrick's hymn; and, by thy dignity, as he used to repeat them, it was rather a satire than a panegyric on Patrick. Nevertheless, by this we have been vanquished." [2]

Three curd-cheeses and butter were brought to Patrick by a religious couple, namely Berach and Bríg. "This

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[1] animae cuiusdam divitis peccatoris, quae sepeliri meruit in inferni barathro, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 166.

[2] et nobis nostra praeda erepta est, *ibid.*

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 28 a. 2.

becaib," olinbanscál. "Maith," olPat*raic*. Tanic d*rái*[1] and, Galldrúi nomen eius, qui dixit: "Credam tibi sí in lapides conuersi fuerint fasc*ri*." Quod Deus[2] per Patricium fecit. "Iterum conuerte in fascru," et fecit. "Iterum conuerte in lapides." Fecit. "Conuerte iterum." Cui dixit Patricius: "Non, sed sic in [facti] commemorationem erunt us[que] quo perueniat famulus Dei huc," qui est Dicuill indErmaidi.[3] Magus cred[id]it.

Sreid Patraic achlucene[4] fomune ndluith and. Ássaid beithi t*ri*adoirnnin.[5] Ishé fo[28 b. 1]-núair Dicuill. Bethechan cloc Pat*raic*, cluccene becc íairnd[6] qui est isindErnaidi Dicollo, *ocus* ataat and indichloich doronta dinaib fasc*rib*. INtress im*morro* rucad laDícuill doLugmag[7] diambu abb and. Itá[8] indíu inGort Chonaich, dochuindchith ani isincill.

Lau *et*rebrad firt Pat*raic* inso:

.i. Incú hic*ri*ch Galeng[9] ocTelaig Mane.

INbocc dofog*ur* abro*in*n namer*lech* hicrich Ua Méith.

Rethair ingerrain cennech leis doDruim m*acc* Ublæ *ocus* laige dau[10] occon g*ra*inni cruithnechta.

Incarpat cen araid, cen eolach oArd-Machai coSleibti.

Coirtech[11] ri Bretan irricht sinnaich innatir.

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[1] drui, E.
[2] dx (*i.e.*, dixit), R.
[3] indErnaidi, E.
[4] achluiccine, E.
[5] bethe tria doirnn, E.
[6] íarnd, R.; iairnd, E.
[7] doLugmad, E.
[8] ata, E.
[9] Galling, E. This miracle is not mentioned elsewhere. For a similar miracle wrought at Inverslany see supra, p. 36, l. 19, and the Lebar Brecc homily, (LB. p. 26) infra.
[10] dó, E.
[11] Coirthech, E.

is for the little boys,"[1] saith the woman. "Good," saith Patrick. A wizard came there, Gall-drui ('foreign wizard') was his name; and he said: "I will believe in thee if these cheeses are turned into stones." Which thing God did by means of Patrick. "Turn them again into cheeses," [saith the wizard]. And Patrick did this. "Turn them again into stones." He did so. "Turn them back." But Patrick said: "Nay, but thus shall they remain in commemoration of the deed, until hither shall come a servant of God,"—who is Dicuill in Ernaide. The wizard believed.

Patrick flings his handbell under a thick brake there. A birch (*bethe*) grows through its handle. It is this that Dicuill found, the Bethechán ('Betullanum'), Patrick's bell, a little bell of iron, which is (now) in the Oratory (?) of Dicuill. And there stand the two stones that were made of the cheeses. The third, however, was brought by Dicuill to Louth, when he was abbot there. It stands to-day in Gort Conaich. [It is] to be sought in the church.

A little catalogue (?) of Patrick's miracles, this, namely:—

The hound [quelled] in the territory of Galeng at Telach Maini ('Maine's hill').

The goat that spake out of the thieves' bellies in the territory of Húi Meith.[2]

The running of the nag without anyone beside him to Druim Maicc Ublai, and his lying down beside the grain of wheat.[3]

The chariot without a charioteer without anyone who knew [the way] from Armagh to Sleibte.[4]

Coroticus King of the Britons [changed] into the shape of a fox in his country.[5]

[1] quos in pietate et litteris vir sanctus educabat, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 166.

[2] supra, p. 180, l. 21.

[3] supra, p. 240, l. 12.

[4] supra, p. 242, ll. 1–5.

[5] infra, p. 271, l. 19, and Probus, lib. 2, c. 27 (*Tr. Th.* p. 55)

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 28. b. 2.

Firt bithbeo, blæ Oinaich [28 b. 2] Taillten cen marb de.[1]

Rí Caisil cenaidid[2] ngona *acht* rop sil Oeng*us*a ma*icc* Nadf*rái*ch.

Namáelairise[3] cen togail .i. Ráith Airthir. Sendomnach imMaig Ái. Eccur[4] Sendomnaig (.i. senbríathar). DunSobairgi.

Sentu dona airchinnech*aib*[5] .i. Soppaltair la F*or*braigi, *ocus* Domnach Naissi, *ocus* Mag itir daGlais imMachai.

Nau[i]gatio abB*er*tlaig imB*er*tlaig Calrigi Culi[6] Cer*nadan*.

Nasrotha dobe*n*nach[7] ingilla oc Drobáis.

INgabail f*ri*dci ocBanna[8] airthir.

INgabail cachráithi occ Slicech.[9]

Saméir theiti[10] alloch*aib*[11] Éirni[12] immuir: toirthech alleth[13] sair f*ri*Cenél *Con*aill, étort[h]ech alleth síar f*ri*Cinel Coirp*ri* t*ri* brethir Pa*traic*.

Findglais ocMartarthaig, Druim Cáin *ocus* Druim Cruachni.

Rígi dogait arLáigairi, arCoirpre, arFiacha, arMane.

Arrigi do tabairt do Eugan, do *Cho*nall, [do] Cre*m*-*thann*, doConall Erbhal.

Na gobaind oc denam[14] na clocc .i. M*acc*-cecht *ocus* Cuan*u* *ocus* M*acc*-tail.

Na cerdda oc denam[14] nammías *ocus* namenist*r*each *ocus* nacailech naltora .i. Tassach *ocus* Essu *ocus* Bitiu.

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[1] di, E.
[2] Sic E. aigid, R.
[3] Sic E. Namáol airise, R.
[4] eccor, E.
[5] airchinnchib, E.
[6] Cailrighe Cuile, E.
[7] robendach, E.
[8] Bandai, E.
[9] Slicich, E.
[10] Samer. Teite, E.
[11] Sic E.; illoch*aib*, R.
[12] Eirne, E.
[13] Sic E.; illeth, R.
[14] dénum, E.

An ever-living miracle, the green of Oenach Tailten without a dead person [being carried] thence.[1]

The King of Cashel not to be slain by a wound, provided he be of the seed of Oengus son of Natfráich.[2]

The consecrated residences not to be destroyed, namely, Rath-Airthir, Sen-domnach in Mag-Ái.—*Eccur Sen-domnaig*, that is a proverb—[and Sen-domnach at] Dún Sobairce.

Old age to the *airchinnechs*, that is, of Sopaltair in Forbraige, and Domnach Naissi and Mag Itha and Mag itir dá Glais in Armagh.

The sailing out of Bertlach[3] into Bertlach of Calrige Cule Cernadan.

The streams which the lad blessed at Drobáis.[4]

The taking of [fish] by day in the eastern Bann.

The taking [of fish] at every season in Sliccch.[6] The Sameir which goes out of the lochs of Erne into the sea: fruitful is the half eastward towards the Cenél Conaill: barren is its western half toward Cenél Coirbri, through Patrick's word.[7]

A stream of fair water at Martartheeh, Druim Cáin and Druim Cruachni.[8]

The taking of kingship from Lóiguire, from Coirbre, from Fiacha, from Mane.

The grant of their kingship to Eogan, to Conall, to Cremthann and to Conall Erbal.

The smiths making the bells, namely, Macc-cecht and Cúana and Macc-táil.

The artizans making the patens and the credence-tables and the altar-chalices, namely, Tassach and Essu and Bitiu.

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[1] Supra, p. 70, line 30.

[2] Supra, p. 196, l. 12.

[3] à Bert-lacijs Occidentalibus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167. Supra, p. 136, l. 25.

[4] aquas Drobaisij fluminis reddiderit piscibus foecundas propter puerorum charitatem, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167. Supra, p. 146, l. 8.

[5] Supra, p. 160, l. 12.

[6] Supra, p. 142, l. 7.

[7] Supra, p. 148, l. 13.

[8] Colgan omits.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 28, b. 2.

[Na cailecha oc dénum nananart altóra[1]] .i. Cochmaissi[2] *ocus* Tig*ris* *ocus* Lupait *ocus* Darerco.

IArsna mórmirbailibsi, t*ra*, rochomfaicesechestar[3] laithi eitsechta Pat*raic* *ocus* atechta doc*um* nime. Ise*d* dorinscan techt do Ardmachai, combad and nobeith a eiséirgi. Tanic Victor angel adochum. Ise*d* rorádi f*ris*: "Ni and rorath duit eiseirgi. Eirc f*or*tcúla[4] donbaili asatanac .i. dontSaball, arisand [sin][5] atbéla, *ocus* nisan Machai dorath[6] duitsiu oDia," ol intangel, 'Tordan *ocus* tairech*as*, docr*a*bad *ocus* tforcetal inArdmachai am*al* nobeithi fein beo and." Patricius dixit:

"Dorocga[7] [29 a. 1] port neiseirgi,
Ardmacha mochell;
nida coimsech mosoiri,
isdoire cocend.

ISArdmacha nocharaimsi,
inmain treb, inmain tulach,
dún gus tath*aig* manimse:
bidfás Emain nacurad."[8]

Angelus dixit:
"Amal nobethe f*rit* bachaill buan ell[9]
linfaid dogreit ordan oll. Ardmacha dochell."

Forácaib intang*el* comarli occ Patraic am*al* noadnasta, dicens: "Tucaite*r*," ol sé, "dá ócdam disciri do cethrai *Con*aill aFindabair .i. oClochor,[10] *ocus* suidigthe*r* dochorp hicarreine f*or*ru, *ocus* sicipleth tíassat indocdaim anoenar *ocus* an bale[11] hi tairisfet, bad andsin notadnasta*r*. Oc*us* notabar fercubat fir isind adnacal[12] amatucaite*r* do reilci *ocus* do thaisi ass." Do-

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[1] Sic, E.
[2] Cochmaiss, E.
[3] rochomfoicsechastar, E.
[4] Eirgg fortchulu, E.
[5] Sic, E.
[6] nissi Mach*ai* rorath, E.
[7] Doroeta, E.
[8] E. omits this quatrain.
[9] buanéll, E.
[10] oChlochur, E.
[11] ambaili, E.
[12] adnucol, E.

The nuns making the altar-cloths, namely, Cochmaiss[1] and Tigris and Lupait and Darerce.

Now after these great marvels, the day of Patrick's death, and of his going to heaven, drew nigh; and he began to go[1] to Armagh in order that his resurrection might be therein. The angel Victor came towards him, and this he said to him: "It is not there that resurrection hath been granted to thee. Go back to the place from which thou hast come, namely, to the Barn; for it is there thou shalt die, and not in Armagh. It hath been granted to thee by God," saith the Angel, "that thy dignity and thy pre-eminence, thy piety and thy teaching shall be in Armagh as if thou thyself wert alive therein." Patrick said:

"I have chosen a place of resurrection,
Armagh my church:
I have no power over my freedom,
It is bondage to the end.

It is Armagh that I love,
A dear thorpe, a dear hill,
A fortress which my soul haunteth;
Emain of the heroes will be waste."

The angel said:

"As . . . . . thy crozier . .
Great dignity will fill thy . . . , Armagh thy church."

The angel left advice to Patrick as to how he should be buried. "Let," saith he, "two unbroken young oxen[2] of the cattle of Conall be brought out of Findabair, that is, from Clochar, and let thy body be put into a little car behind them. And on whatsoever side the oxen shall go alone, and whatsoever place they will stay in, let it be there that thou shalt be buried; and be thou put a man's cubit[3] into the grave, that thy remains and thy relics be

[1] ex finibus Vlidiae, in qua tunc erat, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

[2] Compare I Sam. vi. 7.

[3] Lit. a man's man-cubit.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29 a. 1.

rigned saml*aid* iarnaeitsecht. Rucsat nadaim *con*ice[1] bāili itá indíu Dún Lethglasi. Roadn*acht* isind inatsin[2] *con*onoir *ocus* airmitin.

Occ*us* f*ri* re da aidhchi deacc .i. anairet robat*ar* sruithi hEr*end* occóarc *con*immnaib *ocus* salmaib *ocus* canntaicib, nocho raibi adaig[3] hiMaig Inis acht soillsi aingelacda[4] and. *Ocus* atb*er*at araili robái soillsi an*gelacda*[5] hiMaig Inis cocend mbl*iadne* iarnetsecht Pa*traic*, quod nulli ad tanti uiri meritum declarandum accidisse dubium est. Et ita non uissa nox in tota illa regione in tempore luctus Patrici, qualiter Ezechiæ lang[u]enti, in [h]orologio Achaz demonstrato[6] sanitatis indicio, sol per .x. lineas[7] reuersus est. Et sicut sol contra Gabon et luna contra uallem Achilon stetit.

ISin cétna aidchi aingil inCoimd*ed* nandúlai robat*ar* icf*ri*thairi choirp Pat*raic* cocetlaib sp*í*rtalt*aib*. *Ocus* bolod[8] indraith diada tánic dinchurp [29 a. 2] noeb *ocus* ceol nanang*el* dorat súan *ocus* failti donasruithib[9] fer nErend bat*ar* icairi inchoirp isnahaidchib iar*um*. Corochomaill*ed* f*ris* b*en*nachtu Iacoib foram*acc* .i. Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni quem benedixit Dominus.

Bái immorro[10] tríall c*um*ling móir *ocus* catha et*ir* choíced nhÉrend .i. Ultu *ocus* Uu Neill *ocus* Airgiallu iccosnam chuirp Pat*raic*—Airgiallu *ocus* Uu Nell[11] ictri-

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[1] na doimm conici, E.
[2] inntsin, E.
[3] aghaid, R.; adhaig, E.
[4] ainglecgha, E.
[5] E. omits.
[6] Sic E.; R. ta.
[7] Sic E.; xii. unias, R.
[8] bolodmaraib, R.; bolomairib, E.
[9] dosruithib, E.
[10] v°, E.; R. omits.
[11] ui Neill, E.

not taken out of it." Thus was it done after his death. The oxen brought him as far as the stead wherein to-day standeth Downpatrick. He was buried in that place with honour and veneration.

And for the space of twelve nights, to wit, the time during which the elders of Ireland were watching him with hymns and psalms and canticles, there was no night in Mag Inis, but an angelic radiance therein. And some say that angelic radiance abode in Mag Inis till the end of a year after Patrick's death. And no one doubts that this came to pass in order to make manifest the merit of so great a man. And so night was not seen in the whole of that region during the days of lamentation for Patrick, just as when Hezekiah was sick, the sun went back ten degrees on Ahaz's sundial,[1] as a manifest sign of his recovery. And even so the sun stood overagainst Gibeon and the moon overagainst the valley of Ajalon.[2]

On the first night the angels of the Lord of the elements were watching Patrick's body with spiritual songs. The odour of the divine grace which came from the holy body, and the music of the angels, brought sleep and joy to the elders of the men of Ireland who were watching the body in the nights afterwards. So that in his case was fulfilled the blessing of Jacob to his son: "Behold the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed." [3]

Howbeit, there was an attempt at a great conflict and battle between a province of Ireland, namely Ulster, and the Húi Néill and the men of Oriel, contending for Patrick's body—the men of Oriel and the Húi Néill

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[1] 2 Kings, xx. 11.
[2] Josh. x. 12.
[3] Genesis xxvii. 27.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29, a. 2.

all atab*ar*ta doArdmachai, Ul*aid* océastud occu. *Con*deochat*ar* hÚi Néill coalailiu[1] husq*ue* and, cotuarcab ind ob f*riu* t*ria* nert Dé. Odochóid inlía asindobaind dochuat*ar* nasluáig fochombáig .i. hÚi Neill *ocus* Ul*aid* dobreith chuirp Pat*raic*. Ised tarfas dochach díib, breith inchuirp leis dochum athíri. Corusetarscar Dia fon nindassin t*ri*arath Pat*raic*.

Biat naferta *con*nici so indíu.

ITé so ferta atchuidetar sruithi hÉrend *ocus* dosratsat fo glo[ṡ]náthe[2] naissnésen. Atchuaid cet*us* ferta Pat*raic* *ocus* r*u*scummai Col*umb* cilli m*acc* Fed*limthe*. Ultan m*acc* ói *Con*chab*oir*.[3] Adamnan óa Tinni. hElerán indecnai. Cíarán Belaig Duin. Eps*cop* Ermedach óClochur. Colman Uamach. Cruimmthir Collait oDruim Roilgech.

Fer fírían, t*ra*, inferso *con*glaini aiccnid am*al* huas*a*lathracha. Fír-ailithir am*al* Ab*ra*am. Cennais dílgadach óc*ri*di[u][4] am*al* M[o]ysi.[4] Salmchet*laid* molbthaidi am*al* D*a*bid. Etsud[5] necnai am*al* Solmoin. Lestar togai f*ri*fuac*ra* firinni am*al* Pol nabs*tal*. Fer lán dorath *ocus* dodeol*aidecht*[6] inSpir*ta* Noeb am*al* Iohain m*a*ccán. Lugbart[7] cáin coclannaib sualach. Gesca fíni cotorthigi. Tene taidlech *con*g*ri*s goirthi *ocus* tesaigthi na m*a*cc mbethad imandud *ocus* imélscud deairci. Léo t*ri*a nert *ocus* cumachtai. Colum arcennsa *ocus* diuti. [29 b. 1.] Naithir artrebairi *ocus* tuaichli f*ri*maith. Cennais, humal, áilgen fri m*a*ccu bethad. Fordorchaidi, écennais f*ri*m*a*ccu báis. Mog

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[1] co alaili, E.

[2] glonathi, E.

[3] Chonchobair, E.

[4] Sic, E.

[5] Etsúd, E.

[6] dirath 7 doéol*as*, E.

[7] Lubgort, E.

proceeding to take it to Armagh, the Ulstermen retaining it with them.[1] So the Húi Néill made for a certain water there, and through God's might the river rose against them. When the flood went out of the river the hosts, namely the Húi Néill and the Ulstermen, marched to battle to carry off Patrick's body. This is what seemed to each of the hosts, that they were bearing the body with them to their [own] country. So in that wise God separated them through Patrick's grace.

Thus far let the miracles be to-day.

These are the miracles which the elders of Ireland have declared and which they connected with a thread of narration.[2] Colomb-cille son of Fedlimid, first, declared Patrick's miracles and compiled (?)them. [Likewise did] Ultán son of Conchobar's descendant: Adamnán descendant of Tinne: Elerán of the wisdom: Ciarán of Belach Duin: Bishop Ermedach of Clochar: Colmán Uamach: Presbyter Collait of Druim Roilgech.

A righteous man, verily, was this man, with purity of nature, like the patriarchs. A true pilgrim, like Abraham. Mild, forgiving from the heart, like Moses. A praiseworthy psalmist, like David. A student (?) of wisdom, like Solomon. A choice vessel for proclaiming righteousness, like Paul the apostle. A man full of the grace and the favour of the Holy Spirit, like John the child.[3] A fair herb-garden with plants of virtues. A vine-branch with fruitfulness. A flashing fire with the fervour of the warming and heating of the sons of Life, for kindling and for inflaming charity. A lion through strength and might. A dove for gentleness and simplicity. A serpent for prudence and cunning as to good. Gentle, humble, merciful unto the sons of Life. Gloomy,

[1] ubi sanctus Sabhallense primum in Hibernia monasterium fundavit. Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 168–169.

[2] Scripti enim sunt de actis huius Thaumaturgi Occidentis Apostoli libri sexaginta sex, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

[3] Luke i. 15, 80.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29, b. 1.

sæthair *ocus* fognoma doCr*ist*. Rí arordan *ocus* cumachta fr*i*cuimrech *ocus* tuaslucu*d*, fr*i* socrud *ocus* doerud, fr*i*marbud[1] *ocus* bethugud.

IARsnamórmírbuil*ib*si, tr*a*, .i. iartódúscud marb, íar níc clam *ocus* dall [*ocus* bodur[2]] *ocus* bacach *ocus* æs cacha tedma archen*a*i, iar nordned epsc*op* *ocus* sacart *ocus* deochon *ocus* áosa cacha gr*á*id olchenai isindecl*ais*, iarf*or*cetal fer nErend *ocus* iarnambaisted, iar fothugu*d* cell *ocus* mainistrech, iarcoscrad ídal *ocus* arracht *ocus* eladna[3] druidechta, rochomfoicsigest*ar*[4] huair eitsechta indí noeb-Pátraic. Arroét corp Crist onepsc*op*, óThasach doréir comarli Victoir aing*il*. Rofǽd aspir*ut* iarsin dochum nime isind f*ichet*mad bli*adain* ar *cét* a óisi.[5] Atá achorp hifoss isna[ib][5] talmannaib calléicc *co*nonóir *ocus* ermitin. Gid mor aonóir hifoss, bid mo indonóir bias dáu[6] hilló bratha, intan midfess f*or* torad apr*o*aecepta[7] amal cech nardapstal, inoent*aid* apst*al* *ocus* deis*cipul* Issu, inoen*taid* noi ngr*a*d angel natarmdechat*ar*, inoen*taid* Deachta *ocus* Dóenachta M*aicc* Dé, isindoen*taid* isuaisli ce*ch* oen*taid*,[8] inoen*taid* nanoeb-Tr*i*ndoiti, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Al*im* troc*airi* Dé tr*e* impidi Pa*traic*. Roíssam huili indoen*taid* sin! Roat*trebam* in secula seculorum! Amén.[9]

INnafertasa d*ino*[10] atchuademar doronai in Coimdiu arPat*raic*[11] ciabeith nech ris[12] nitatmorai. Araidi isat úati do ilib, arnifil f*o*raithmet dóenai *con*ísad achuimniugu*d*. *Ocus* nifil scribhnid *con*isad ascr*i*bend innan-

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[1] fri sóerad *ocus* dóerad fri marbad, E.

[2] Sic, E.

[3] eladan, E.

[4] rochomocsegestar, E.

[5] a aese, E.

[6] dó, E.

[7] praeceuchta, E.

[8] uaisliu cech óendacht, E.

[9] E. adds f.i.n.i.t.

[10] Perhaps di*du* = O. Ir. didiu.

[11] er Phatraic, E.

[12] res, E.

ungentle to the Sons of Death. A laborious and serviceable slave to Christ. A king for dignity and power as to binding and loosing, as to liberating and enslaving, as to killing and giving life.

Now, after these great marvels, namely, after raising the dead to life, after healing lepers and blind and deaf and halt and sick folk of every kind besides: after ordaining bishops and priests and deacons and folk of every other grade in the Church: after teaching the men of Ireland and after baptizing them: after founding churches and monasteries: after destroying idols and images and the knowledge of wizardry, the time of holy Patrick's death drew nigh. He received Christ's Body from the bishop, from Tassach, according to the angel Victor's counsel. Then he sent forth his spirit to heaven in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. His body is here still on earth with honour and veneration. But though great be his honour here, greater will be the honour that he will have on Doomsday, when he will give judgment on the fruit of his teaching like every high apostle: in the union of Jesu's apostles and disciples: in the union of the nine ranks of angels that have not transgressed: in the union of the Godhead and Manhood of the Son of God: in the union that is nobler than any union, in the union of the Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. I beseech God's mercy through Patrick's intercession. May we all attain to that unity! may we dwell [therein] for ever and ever! Amen.

These miracles, then, that we have related, which the Lord wrought for Patrick, though one should be . . . they are not great. However, they are a few of many, for there is no human memory[1] that could remember

[1] Lit. recollection.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29, b. 2. dernai dofertaib *ocus* domírbuilib isna[1] ferand [21 b. 2]-aib ir[r]oacht.

IARfothug*ud* di*no*[2] ecl*as* nimdai, iarcoisecrad manistrech *ocus* iarmbaits*ed* fer nErend, iar mor æmnne *ocus* iarmorsæthar,[3] íarcoscr*ad* ídal *ocus* arracht, iar comainsem ríg nimdæ nadenaitis[4] areir, iartecb*ail* inna fairni dognétis[5] areir, *ocus* iarnoirdned dodeichenb*or* ardib[6] fichtib art*r*ib cétaibh doepsc*op*aib, *ocus* iarnordn*ed* do teora mile do sacartaib *ocus* óes cec*h* uirtt [archena[7]] isindecl*ais*, iarnáine *ocus* ernaigthi, iar trocai*ri* *ocus* cainuairrigi, iarcendsai *ocus* ailgine f*r*im*a*ccu bethad, iar s*eir*e Dé *ocus* comnesom,[8] arroet corp Cr*ist* ond epsc*op*, oThasach, *ocus* rofáid iarsin aspirut docum nime. Ata im*morro* achorp hifoss hital*main* calléice cononoir *ocus* airmitin. *Ocus* cid mór ahonóir hifoss bid mó aonoir illou brátha, INtan taitnifes am*al* g*r*ein hinimh, *ocus* intan midfes f*or* thorad a p*r*ocepta am*al* Pet*ar* no Pol. Biaidh iarsin innoentaid[9] uasalat*hr*ach *ocus* fatha, inoentaid noeb *ocus* noebuag indomain, inoentaid aps*tal* *ocus* descip*ul* Issu Cr*ist*, inoent*aid* naecl*ais*i cechtarda nime *ocus* talm*an*, inoen*taid* noi ng*r*ad nime natarmdechat*ar*, inoent*aid* Deachta *ocus* Dóenachta M*aic*c Dé, issindoen*taid* isuaisliu cechnoen*taid*, inoent*aid* naT*r*inóiti, Ath*air* *ocus* M*acc* *ocus* Sp*ir*ut Noeb.[10]

Ailme tro*cairi* nDé[11] t*re* impidi Pa*traic*. Roisam uili[12] indoen*taid* sin! roáirill*em*[13]! roaitre*bam*! in secula seculorum, amén.

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[1] isnaib, E.

[2] Perhaps di*du* = O. Ir. didiu.

[3] iar mórenmne 7 iar mórsocthar, E.

[4] nadentais, E.

[5] dognitis, E.

[6] di no tri, E.

[7] Sic E.

[8] coibnesam, E.

[9] inoentaid, E.

[10] E. adds: in sécula séculorum, Amen.

[11] ailimm, E.

[12] uili, E.; R. omits.

[13] roarlem, E.

[14] E. omits.

it. And there is no writer who could write all the miracles and marvels which Patrick wrought in the lands into which he came.

Now after founding churches in plenty, after consecrating monasteries, after baptizing the men of Ireland, after great patience and after great labour, after destroying idols and images and after rebuking many kings who did not do his will, and after raising up those who did his will, after ordaining three hundred and three score and ten bishops, and after ordaining three thousand priests and folk of every grade in the Church besides; after fasting and prayer: after mercy and clemency: after gentleness and mildness to the sons of Life: after love of God and his neighbours, he received Christ's body from the bishop, from Tassach, and then he sent his spirit to heaven. His body, however, is here still on earth, with honour and veneration. And though great be honour to it here, greater will be the honour to it on Doomsday, when it will shine like a sun in heaven,[1] and when it will give judgment on the fruit of his preaching, even as Peter or Paul. It will abide thereafter in the union of patriarchs and prophets, in the union of the saints and holy virgins of the world, in the union of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ, in the union of the Church both of heaven and earth: in the union of the nine ranks of heaven that transgressed not, in the union of the Godhead and Manhood of God's Son, in the union that is nobler than any union, the union of the Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost.

I beseech God's mercy through Patrick's intercession. May we all attain to that union! May we deserve it May we dwell therein for ever and ever!

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[1] Cf. Daniel xii. 3; Matth. xiii. 43.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 29, b. 2.

Post ig[itur] fundatas eclesias,[1] post monasteria consecrata, post homines[2] babtizatos, post fidem [per totam patriam praedicatam,] post tantam patientiam et tantum laborem, post euangelice gratie largitionem, post idula distructa, carminibus et sectis gentilitatis e[uac]uatis,[3] post magicas artes superatas: prop[h]etatis turbis filiorum Dei futuris,[4] potestate demonum fugata, multis [30 a. 1] per spiritum profetie[5] in honorem et regnum subleuatis, multis quoque regibus contemptis, nam quos soluebat [a Deo soluebantur, et quos uinciebat] uincti fiebant[6] [apud Deum,] merito accepta apostolica potestáte, uelut dictum est a Christo ad Petrum "quaecumque[7] ligaueris super terram erunt ligata in cœlis et quaecumque[7] solueris in terris erunt soluta[8] in cælis; post episcopos ordinatos et sacerdotes et prespeteros et diaconos et reliquo[s] eclesiastico[s] ordinato[s];[9] post obpropria et conuicia tyrrannorum perpessa: post minas et temtationes tolleratas, cotidie pro Christo moriendo; post tantam [pa]cientiam[10] et ieiunium, post misericordiam et benignitatem, post mansuetudinem et lenitatem, post tantam caritatem, praemisís filiorum Dei de fructu laboris sui cateruis, post sacrificium assumptum ab episcopo Tassoch, migrauit ad Dominum, et in pace dormiuit, et inter choross angelorum congaudet praesentia[11] Domini sui, merendo [illum] uidere, ut merito illi dicatur:[12] "Euge,[13] serue bone et fidelis, intra[14] in gaudium Domini Dei tui." In qua exaltatione[15] et beatitudine

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[1] eclecias, R.; aeclesias, E.
[2] Sic, E, omnes, R.
[3] viatis, E.
[4] profuturis, R. and E.
[5] uirtutem, dei, Colg.
[6] Sic E.; fiebunt, R.
[7] quoscumque, R. and E.
[8] solutam, R.
[9] reliquo æcclesiastico ordine ordinato, E.
[10] praecentiam, R.; praesentiam, E.
[11] patientiam, E.
[12] dicatatur, R.
[13] vige, E.
[14] in terra, R.
[15] exultatione, R.; exultitatione, E.

So after founding churches, after consecrating monasteries, after baptizing human beings, after preaching the faith throughout the whole country, after so much patience and labour, after bestowing the grace of the Gospel, after destroying idols, the spells and practices of heathenism being made void: after the wizards' arts had been overcome; having foretold the future crowds of the sons of God, put to flight the power of the devils, raised by the spirit of prophecy many unto honour and kingship, also brought many kings into contempt (for those whom he loosed were loosed by God and those whom he bound became bound before God—the apostolic power having been deservedly received, as Christ said to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth will be bound in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth will be loosed in heaven"): after ordaining bishops and priests and elders and deacons and the other ecclesiastics: after patiently enduring tyrants' taunts and reproaches, after suffering threats and temptations, in dying daily for Christ[1]; after so great patience and fasting; after mercy and kindness, after gentleness and tenderness, after much charity, troops of God's sons being sent before from the fruit of his labour; after receiving the eucharist from bishop Tassach, he departed to the Lord and slept in peace. And among the choirs of angels he rejoiceth with them in his Lord's presence, deserving to behold Him. Wherefore it is justly said to him, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of the Lord thy God."[2] In which

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 31.

[2] Matth. xxv. 23.

Rawl. B. 512, fo. 30, a. 1.

perfruitur in presentia Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Alme[1] tro*cairi*, et reliqua.

In E. this chapter comes immediately before the sentence *Biat naferta connici so indiu* (supra p. 256), and begins with the following piece of Latin:—

Haec ergo quae denuntiauimus opera, quae diuina gratia, per uirum sanctum Patricium, ut essent conces[s]it, q*uod*uis audientibus grauia et magna uideant[ur] pauca tamen sunt de plurimis,[2] parua de multis, uasi memorie ex ipsis commendata sunt. Summatim excerpta uidentur, quasi sensus,[3] q*uae* récordatio continere potest; quis [enim] scriptor perstringere ualet singula, quique signa, miracula, prodigia, quae in singulis régionibus, prouinciis, uicis, castellis,[4] locis, confecit.[5]

Eg. 93, fo. 18, b. 2.

The Egerton MS. adds the following chapter:[6]—

ISiatso in cethrur ar .xx. boi innúrd la Pátraic .i.
Sechnall aeps*cop*.
Mochta aṡaccart.
Eps*cop* Eirc ab*re*ithem.
Eps*cop* m*acc* Cairthinn atrénf*er*.
Benen asalmchetlaig.
Coeman Chilli Riada am*ac*coem.
Sinell o Chill Dareis aastire.
Athgein Bothi Domnaig achoicc.
Cruimthir Mescan oDomnach Mescan oc Fochain a cirpsere .i. a scoaire.
Cruimthir Bescna oDomnach Dala a sacart meisi.
Cruimthir Catan *ocus* Cruimthir Acan a da foss.

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[1] ailim, E.
[2] MS. plauirimis.
[3] MS. quissi senus.
[4] cf. Vulg. Luc. xxiv. 13.
[5] Of this the Irish paragraph beginning supra, p. 258, line 25, is, apparently, an abridged translation.
[6] Translated by Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167; see also Book of Lecan, fo. 35 b., cols. 3 and 4, and Annals by the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan, A.D. 448.

exaltation and blessedness he enjoys in the presence of the Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost. We beseech mercy, etc.

These works, therefore, which we have proclaimed, which Divine Grace hath granted to be wrought by the holy man Patrick, may, to those who have heard any one of them, appear wonderful and great. Yet they are but a few from a multitude, little from many, which have been committed to the receptacle of memory. They are to be regarded as a summary, as it were, an epitome, such as recollection can grasp. [For] what writer could detail every particular regarding the signs, the wonders, the prodigies, which he wrought in the several regions, provinces, towns, villages, and places?

These are the four and twenty persons who were in orders with Patrick, namely:—

Sechnall his bishop.[1]
Mochta his priest.[2]
Bishop Erc his judge.
Bishop Macc Cairthinn his champion.
Benén his psalmist.
Coemán of Cell Riada his chamberlain.[3]
Sinell of Cell-Dareis his bell-ringer.[4]
Athcen of Both Domnaig his cook.
Presbyter Mescán of Domnach Mescáin at Fochain his brewer.
Presbyter Besena of Domnach Dala his chaplain.[5]
Presbyter Catán and Presbyter Acan his two waiters.[6]

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[1] fuit ipsius Vicarius in spiritualibus et suffraganeus, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

[2] Archi-presbyter, *ibid.*

[3] *maccoem*, lit. 'youth'; Colgan here reads "cubicularius."

[4] *astire* (=ostiarius), "campanarius," Colgan, *ibid.*

[5] Sacellanus, *ibid.*

[6] *Catanus* praesbyter et *Ocanotus* praesbyter, duo hospitalarij, siue hospitum ministri, *ibid.* The Book of Lecan, as cited by O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, A.D. 448, has: Cruimther Cádán ó Tamlachtain Ardda, 7 Cruimther mBrogán a da fosmesi.

Egerton 93, fo. 18, b. 2.

Odran oDisiurt Ódrain inUib Failgi a ara.

Cruimthir Manach afer cónnadaig.

Rottan abuachaill.

A thri gobaind .i. M*acc* Cecht, [Laebán] oDomnach Laeban, ise doroine indFindfaidech, *ocus* Fortchern iRaith Adine.

Essa is Bite is Tasach at*hri* cerda.

A theóra d*ru*inecha .i. Lupait *ocus* Erc ingen Daire *ocus* C*ru*imtheris hi Cengoba.[1]

Ocus isiat sin lín dl*egar* inoentaig Iosep, *ocus* ise lin dlegar immeis righ Caisil o ré Feidlim*id* m*ai*cc Crimthain ille .i. ri da choicced Mumun, *ocus* rl.

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[1] This list is thus given in the Book of Leinster (facsimile, p. 353, col. *d*) :

ISiatso incethrur arfichet batar inurd laP*at*ric .i.

Sechnall aepsc*op*.

Mochta asac*art*.

Epsc*op* Erc abrithem.

Epsc*op* m*acc* Cairthind atr*en*fer.

Benen asalmchetlaid.

Coeman Cilli Riatai a m*a*ccoem.

Siuell Cille Aires a astiri.

Athgin Bothi Domnaig achoic.

Cr*um*thir Mescan, oDomnuch Mescan, athirbsiri.

Cr*um*thir mBescnai, oDomnuch Dula, asacart mése.

Athrí gobaind, [macc Cecht] oDomnuch Armoin (*no* Arnoin), *ocus* Loibán, *ocus* Fortchern.

Atrí cerdda, Essiu *ocus* Biti *ocus* Tassach.

At*ri* drunecha, Lupait *ocus* Erc ingen Dáre, *ocus* Cr*um*thiris.

Odrán inDisiurt Od*ra*in in h*Úib* Falgi, a ara.

Cr*um*thir Catan .i. oThamlachtain Ardda, *ocus* Cr*um*thir Brocan, ada foss.

Cr*um*thir Manach afer denma c*on*naid.

Roddan abuachaill.

Odrán of Disert Odráin in Húi-Failgi his charioteer.

Presbyter Manach his fire-woodman.[1]

Rottan his cowherd:

His three smiths, namely, Macc-Cecht,[2] [Laebán] of Domnach Laebáin, (it is he that made the [bell called] *Findfáidech*),[3] and Fortchern in Rath Adine[4]:

Essa and Bite and Tassach his three artisans:[5]

His three embroideresses,[6] namely Lupait, and Erc daughter of Dáre, and Cruimthiris in Cengoba.

And that is the number that should be in Joseph's company,[7] and it is the number that should be at the King of Cashel's table down from the time of Feidlimed son of Crimthann, king of the two provinces of Munster, &c.

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[1] Monachus . . . focarius, lignorumque provisor, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

[2] ó Domhnach Arnoin, Book of Lecan, cited by O'Donovan.

[3] reliquiarium illud famosum, *Finn-faidheach* nuncupatum, *Tr. Th.* p. 167. See Reeves, *St. Patrick's Bell*, Dublin 1877, p. 29, where this name is rendered by 'sweet-sounding.' Colgan gives only two smiths, Maccectus of *Domnach-loe-bain* and Fortchernus of *Rathaidme.*

[4] i Raith Semni, Book of Lecan, cited by O'Donovan.

[5] fabri aerarii, vasorumque sacrorum fabricatores, Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 167.

[6] textrices, et sacrorum linteorum erant confectrices, *ibid.*

[7] lit. 'unity.' This Joseph may have been the Iosep, the thirty-ninth of Patrick's successors at Armagh, who flourished A.D. 945.